THE NATIONS' HISTORIES

SWITZERLAND

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A HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND

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THE NATIONS' HISTORIES

SWITZERLAND

BY

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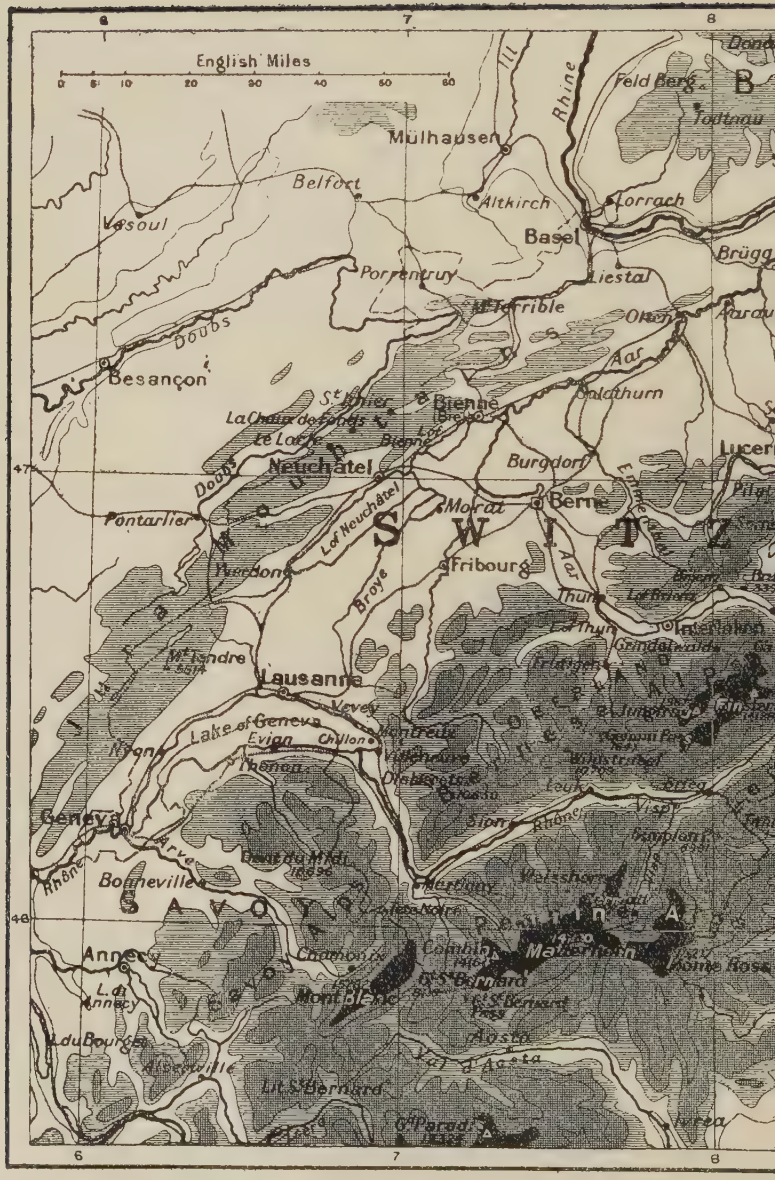

English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Mülhausen
Ill
Rhine
Feld Berg
Todtnau
Belfort
Altkirch
Lörrach
Basel
Vesoul
Porrentruy
Liestal
Mt Terrible
Olten
Doubs
Aar
Besançon
St Imier
Bienne
Solothurn
La Chaux de fonds
Le Locle
Lac de Bienne
Neuchâtel
Burgdorf
Lucer
Doubs
Pontarlier
Lac de Neuchâtel
Morat
Berne
SWITZ
Yverdon
Fribourg
Broye
Aar
Thun
Lac de Thun
Interlaken
Grindelwald
Mt Tendre
Lausanne
Vevey
Montreux
Lake of Geneva
Evian
Chillon
Villeneuve
Aigle
Rhone
Thonon
Diablerets
Geneva
Arve
Sion
Rhône
Visp
Simplon
Mont du Midi
Bonneville
Martigny
Matterhorn
Annecy
Chamonix
Combin
Mont Blanc
G. St Bernard
Lac d'Annecy
Aosta
L. du Bourget
Albertville
Val d'Aosta
Lit. St Bernard
G. Paradis
Ivrea

REFERENCE
Above 12000 ft
6000-12000 "
3000-6000 "
Below 3000 "
Tuttlingen
Ravensburg
Überlingen
Friedrichshafen
Constance
Lake of Constance
Lindau
Bregenz
Frauenfeld
Winterthur
Rorschach
St Gall
Herisau
Zurich
Appenzell
Feldkirch
Rapperswyl
Bludenz
Arl Berg
Zug
Sargans
Glarus
Ragatz
Finstermünz
Klosters
Chur
Davos Platz
Tödi
Adula Group
Bernardino Pass
St Moritz
Bormio
Berlina
Blasod
Chiavenna
Bellinzona
Locarno
Val Tellina
Bergamo Alps
Menaggio
Lugano
Lecco
Como
Varese
Bergamo
Iseo
LOMBARDY
Glarus Alps
Rhætian Alps
Engadine Alps
Ortler Alps
Lake of Zurich
Lake of Como
Lake of Lugano
Lake of Iseo
Rhine
Rhone
Inn
Adda
Oglio
Brembo
Serio
Brenta
Tonale Pass
Stelvio
Aprica
Tirano
Sondrio
Chiavenna
Splügen
Julier P.
Maloja Pass
Bernina
Ortler
Monte Rosa
Monte Viso
Mont Blanc
Simplon
Gotthard Pass
Furka P.
Grimsel P.
Oberalp P.
Lukmanier P.
Spluga
Aprica
Tonale
Stelvio
Ofen P.
Fluelen
Goldau
Schwyz
Altdorf
Linthal
Wallenstadt
Lake of Zurich
Lake of Zug
Lake of Walen
Thur
Rhine
Linth
Limmat
Reuss
Aar
Rhone
Rhine

SWITZERLAND

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY OF THE SWISS

THERE is no country in the world that is better known to people who dwell beyond its borders than the little Swiss Republic. The range of the Alps, that rears itself like a huge semicircular barrier between mid-Europe and Italy, happens to reach both its greatest massiveness and its greatest beauty within Swiss territory; Switzerland has come to be recognized as an unsurpassed area of health and pleasure, and since it touches upon four of the great European countries, and is not difficult of access from a fifth, it is not remarkable that the land should be visited every summer, and indeed every winter as well, by multitudes of foreigners. Swiss scenery never disappoints anybody—in truth it always exceeds expectations; and the enthusiasm of strangers for the scenery is accompanied as a rule by a more subdued but quite definite esteem for the Swiss people. The growing cosmopolitanism of the modern Swiss, and their keen commercial instincts, are quite rightly not allowed to destroy the prevailing view of them as a simple and hardy race who have gained and held their liberties with their backs against the wall of their native Alps.

This view is in an important sense a true one, but it is very far from being the whole truth. If it were the whole truth the story of Switzerland would be a much easier one to

tell. Let us begin by looking at the map. The map of Switzerland is one of the most unmistakable pages in the atlas. At first glance it looks a welter of mountains. But on examining it a little more closely we find that Switzerland is not all mountains together. There are parts of it that seem to belong, physically, to adjoining countries. These mountaineers, moreover, seem to have had a strong propensity for getting over their Alpine wall. For a long distance beyond the Mont Blanc group, where the Alps enter Switzerland, the frontier runs along the summits; but then it dips abruptly south down to the lakes of Northern Italy, and a whole Swiss canton—Ticino—is on what one would expect the Swiss to regard as the wrong side of the Alps. Further east again the Grisons canton takes in scraps of territory on the Italian slope of the mountains. The Swiss boundary, indeed, seems for most of its length an erratic and inconsequent thing. The dividing line between Switzerland and Austria is apparently based on no reasonable principle whatever until it reaches the Rhine, down which it passes northward until it comes to the Lake of Constance. Beyond the lake it crosses the Rhine, and trespasses flagrantly into German territory. On returning to the river it pursues the valley steadily down to Basel, where it gets uncertain again and wanders south-westward in astonishing zigzags. For a time it keeps an assured path along the summit of the Jura mountains; then it strikes a wedge into France at Geneva, takes to the water in Lake Leman, lands at the eastern end of the lake, and follows a very rough cross-country route to the end of the Mont Blanc group, where we started with it.

A boundary like this would suggest that Swiss territory has been compiled in rather a piecemeal fashion. The idea is strengthened when we turn from the land to the people. They seem to have no normal national characteristic in common. They are not a single race, nor a group of indigenous races;

they are portions of the surrounding races, set apart and fused together into a separate nationality. They have no language of their own; some speak French, some German, some Italian; you may hear all three languages talked by citizens of the same Republic during a single day's journey. It is true that there are two languages spoken in Switzerland that are spoken nowhere else—the Romonsch and Ladin tongues of the Grisons. But these are simply local vernacular; the peasant of Vaud or Unterwalden knows no more about them than the Suffolk labourer knows about Gaelic. Nor is there community of religion. Some districts are Roman Catholic, some Protestant, some mixed.

All this illustrates the fundamental truth about Switzerland that it is not a homogeneous but a composite state. The country is so small—its total area is less than half that of Ireland—that everyone has more or less difficulty in grasping its essentially federal character. The federalism, however, is a reality—the root reality of Swiss history and modern Swiss government. The Republic is a congregation of small self-governing communities that have been gradually drawn together by common interests and the need of defence against outside powers. Through centuries the union was a loose and variable one; to-day it is closely knit and severely defined. But each community, howsoever it may have been brought into the union—by treaty, or by conquest, or as a suppliant for protection—jealously guards its individuality and its rights of self-rule. Certain of these rights have been handed over to the federal government; but the rest are the canton's own—in regard to them it is sovereign, and the Parliament in Bern cannot abate a jot or tittle of them.

Switzerland's composite character is in no sense a political freak; it is, considering the physical nature of the country, precisely what we might expect. Let us take a glance at Swiss topography. The boundaries of Switzerland as a state may

seem haphazard and irregular, but its internal divisions are, for the most part, phenomenally well defined. The bulk of the country consists of areas parted from each other by steep mountain ranges that formed highly effective boundaries, but did not by any means offer insuperable obstacles to communication between the people who lived on either side of them. The larger part of this mountainous area is drained by the Rhine, which runs athwart the north of Switzerland. Greatest of its tributaries is the Aar, which gathers together the innumerable torrents of the Bernese Oberland and sweeps with their waters round the rock promontory of Bern; greatest of the Aar's tributaries are the Reuss, the ferocious stream that tears down from the St Gothard region to the Lake of Lucerne, and the Linth, or Limmat, which descends from Glarus through the Lake of Zürich. The Rhine itself has its sources in the western mountains of the Grisons; the eastern part of the Grisons gives its waters to the Inn, which passes on to join the Danube. The Bernese Oberland Alps, on their southern flanks, pour their torrents into the Rhone in its great trough between the Bernese and the Pennine ranges; its path is through Lake Leman and southwards.

All the torrents that feed these streams have carved for themselves deep valleys, many of them with level or comparatively level tracts at their bases, and most of them habitable for the greater part of their length. In these valleys, or on the hillsides—often in dwellings that look as dizzily perched as an eagle's nest—live the mountain-folk; and each year, when the spring comes, a number of them take up their abode in the high pasture-lands above the valleys where the cattle graze in summer. This is the way of life that has been pursued in these mountains throughout the centuries; it is the way of life that was pursued by the men who did most to win, and have done most to hold, the liberties of Switzerland. Poets have written in all literary languages about the spirit of free-

dom that abides among the mountains. Translated into prose the phrase means, first, that a rigorous open-air life, under bracing and exacting physical conditions, does inevitably breed characteristics of independence and self-reliance—that is, if the conditions are not so severe as to make life a mere miserable struggle to keep alive; and, secondly, that people in remote mountain regions are usually left very much to themselves, acquire a habit of minding their own business, and are apt to be resentful when anybody else wants to mind it for them.

It has already been pointed out, however, that Switzerland is not all mountains. A glance at the map reveals a broad belt of lowlands stretching athwart the country from Lake Leman to the Lake of Constance. This lowland region is of comparatively little interest to most travellers, who are on the look-out all the while for the snows. But it is of immense importance in Swiss history. In the lowland belt are the chief cities of modern Switzerland—Geneva, Lausanne, Freiburg, Bern, Zürich; Basel is near at hand across the Jura. The share of the cities is a large one in the history of most European countries, and in none, perhaps, larger than in that of Switzerland. In close neighbourhood to the mountain communities arose communities of a wholly different type, also free or seeking freedom, but quite distinct in manners and purposes, and having far more intimate and complex relations with the outside world. The city folk and the mountain folk were forced into joint action by the pressure of common enemies, but their contrasts and conflicts form a very conspicuous part indeed of the story of Switzerland's internal affairs.

It is not only on account of the cities that the lowlands are of high historical import. In this pleasant country dwelt the mediæval overlords, who had to be encountered and overthrown before either the men of the mountains or the men of the cities could grasp the liberties they sought. Again, the

men of the mountains were not always content with an austere and unaggressive independence among their native rocks. A history of Switzerland has to tell candidly of liberty-loving mountaineers emerging from their recesses to make short work of the liberty and property of others. But if the tale of events in the Swiss lowlands is a chequered one, some passages in it are very honourable indeed. It was there that the seal of blood was placed upon Swiss freedom. The mountaineers were believers in the maxim, now so much in vogue, that the best mode of defence is attack. They were not accustomed to await the foe in their rocky fastnesses; they came down and beat him on his own soil. Most of the great battles of Swiss history were fought in the lowlands. The stranger passes with a certain impatience across this cheerful stretch of land, past wooded hills and quaint buildings with their high-pitched roofs; this is not the Switzerland he has come to see. But let him watch, lest he pass unawares over sacred ground.

Swiss freedom was thus born among the mountains, and nourished and exercised in the lowlands. Some might be inclined to add that it is now enjoying a lucrative and prosperous middle age among the mountains again; but it is an error to suppose that the industry of entertaining visitors—although the Swiss themselves would be the last to undervalue its importance—is the only modern Swiss industry that matters. It is certain, however, that the High Alps are more prominent in the affairs of Switzerland to-day than they have ever been before. In the past they were a majestic background to events, and were sometimes of service, sometimes of disservice, as a barrier. Nowadays they find profitable employment for large numbers of the Swiss people; they attract to Switzerland a handsome share of the wealth of other nations; and the foremost exploits of modern Swiss enterprise are concerned with running railways up them, boring holes through them,

and taming for the uses of man the mighty torrents that descend from them.

This is a development that has been wrought under the eyes of men now living. But the whole history of the Swiss Republic, for that matter, occupies only a fragment of the time during which men are known to have dwelt on the soil that is now Switzerland's. The story that is to be told begins in a very dim light of the far past, and a long way has to be traversed, as swiftly as may be, ere a first glimpse is caught of the elements that have shaped themselves into the Switzerland we know.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

To avoid confusion, the nomenclature adopted in this book is that of the ordinary maps and guide-books. Swiss place-names have been the subject of much controversy, and some of those in common use are undoubtedly incorrect; but the simplest plan, in such a case, is to adhere to the names most generally employed and most easily recognized.

The term " Canton " was not officially adopted in Switzerland until the end of the eighteenth century, but for the sake of convenience it has been used throughout the book.

CHAPTER II

HELVETIA AND RHÆTIA

(*i.*) *The Cave-Dwellers*

THE earliest phase of human habitation of the land that is now Swiss has left behind it traces even scantier than is the case in most European countries. The second phase, however, has been revealed to us with almost startling clearness. A discovery made near Zürich about sixty years ago—one of the greatest discoveries in the whole history of archæology—has told the modern world more about the later prehistoric past than it had ever expected to know.

Regarding the earlier prehistoric past Switzerland has helped the investigator very little indeed. The great Ice Age, the magnificent relics of which still crown the High Alps, left its desolate impression on the lofty ground of Central Europe for longer than elsewhere; Switzerland, when first inhabited by human beings, was a region of Siberian severity. Primitive man seems, for the most part, to have kept away from it; but on the outskirts of the land—at Veyrier, near Geneva, and in the neighbourhood of Schaffhausen—there are plain tokens of human occupation. The dwellings were either caves or rude shelters protected by rocks, carefully chosen so as to get a maximum of sunshine. The possessions of these people that have been unearthed are characteristic of the early Stone Age—knives of flint and needles of bone, rude sketches on stone of sundry animals, and bone staves with

drawings upon them of animals or men, conjectured to be the official wands of tribal leaders. Two races seem to have dwelt in these abodes, one of normal human stature and the other dwarfish. They lived by the chase and had acquired the secret of fire. This is practically all we know about them.

(*ii.*) *The Lake-Dwellers*

After the era of the cave-dwellers there came a long interval during which traces of human life in Switzerland are almost non-existent. From this darkness we pass into a light that by comparison is brilliant; we reach the era of the lake-dwellers. The finding of the lake-dwellings was virtually an accident. In 1853 the waters of the Lake of Zürich sank unusually low. A workman at Meilen, engaged on some operation on the muddy margin of the shrunken lake, ran up against something hard which he discovered to be a wooden pile. Presently he learned that there were quite a number of these piles about, and a further search led to the picking up of sundry implements, of which the finders could make nothing. So they sent them to Dr Ferdinand Keller at Zürich. He looked at the implements; he came and looked at the piles; and he pronounced that these were the remains of a prehistoric lake-dwelling. The sensation in antiquarian circles was immediate and profound. All the archæologists in mid-Europe abandoned their spades and took to dredging; all the archæologists everywhere else pricked up their ears to hearken to the fray that they knew would soon follow.

The fray did follow as a matter of course; the discovery gave endless material for antiquarian argument. But apart from controversy there was an enormous gain of definite knowledge from the investigations that were carried out, in which Dr Keller's successors, Drs Heer and Heierli, also of

Zürich, have taken the foremost places. The search for more lake-dwellings was richly rewarded; they were found in large numbers on the lakes of Zürich, Constance, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bienne—on all the lakes with shallow margins, in fact, that lie well back from the mountains. Dwellings were discovered, also, on the lakes of other Central European countries, and traces have been detected of lake-folk in Ireland and the East Riding of Yorkshire. But the Swiss discoveries have been the most illuminating of all.

These dwellings were, in effect, cabins of wood or clay built on wooden platforms surrounded by water, but quite near the shore. The platforms were, for the most part, supported by a forest of piles driven into the lake bottom. If the mud was soft the piles were made firm at their bases by a framework of tree-trunks. On rocky bottoms the piles were held in place by mounds of loose stones. Sometimes the lake-folk, instead of driving piles, used to make artificial islands of trunks, stones, brushwood and clay. The platforms upheld by these piles or artificial islands were large enough to accommodate good-sized villages. One of these villages, at Satz, on the Lake of Bienne, was over six acres in extent. Communication with the land was usually by means of a gangway, although some of the lake-folk isolated themselves completely and went ashore in canoes.

Lake-dwellings were not a mere temporary phase of prehistoric life. The exact time during which the practice continued cannot, of course, be ascertained. But we know that it began during the later Stone Age, continued throughout the Bronze Age, and died out early in the Iron Age. Successive lake villages were often built on the same site. Owing to the receding of the lakes many lake-dwellings are now out of water altogether, and can be investigated by spade-work in the ordinary antiquarian manner. The digging, in one case, has revealed three lake-villages in layers one above the other.

The villages, as might be expected, were often wiped out by fire, although the lake-folk did their best to reduce the danger by surrounding their fireplaces with hard clay. The burning of the villages has benefited modern inquirers, for incineration has preserved many articles used in the dwellings that would otherwise have disappeared.

The very construction of the dwellings shows that the lake-folk belonged to a far more advanced type than their predecessors, the cave-folk. Even the earliest of them were something more than untutored savages, and the Bronze Age was notable both in art and industry. These people practised agriculture and kept flocks and herds, stabling them on the lake-platforms. They made efficient weapons and implements; there was a *belle époque* during the Bronze Age, when the lake-men forged knives with beautiful wavy blades, and noble swords with decorated hilts, a splendid specimen of which has a place of honour in the museum at Lausanne. Although out of the beaten tracks of commerce, the lake-folk evidently had traffic with the Etruscans and the Phœnicians, from whom they at first bought weapons and afterwards learned the secrets of metal-working.

Two main questions have still to be answered—Why did these people dwell on the lakes, and who were they? Neither question admits of a definite reply. The reason why they chose to build villages on the lakes can only be conjectured. It has been suggested that they lived chiefly on fish; the notion is founded on the account by Herodotus of lake-dwellers in Thrace, who caught fish by the simple process of letting down a basket through a hole in the floor. Undoubtedly the prehistoric people were fond of fish and congregated by the lakes for that reason; but the discovery in one lake-village of five tons of animal bones, remains of prehistoric feasts, shows that the lake-dwellers were anything but purely icthyophagous. Others have thought that lake-dwellings were adopted as an

effective safeguard against floods—men went to the water, as it were, to escape from the water. The theory that appears to have the strongest probability of all is that lake-villages were built so that the occupants might have security against human enemies and wild animals. It would seem to be certain that the lake-dwellers were not a race apart from the people who lived on dry land. The land-dwellers of this epoch have left few traces behind them; but there are sure tokens that the whole population was not lacustrine, and that the landsmen were of the same race, and advanced at the same rate of progress, as the lake-folk. The distinction between them was at most tribal.

What was their race? Here, again, we are in the dark. Professor Keller surmised at first that the lake-dwellers were Celts. This view is not held nowadays, but there is evidence that the lake-dwellers, or a few of them, survived in their aquatic abodes until the coming of the Celts, and had commercial dealings with these invaders. The race to which they themselves belonged, however, is still material for guesswork. The further question arises—What has become of them? We think of them as vanished, but populations do not vanish easily. They may be enslaved or absorbed, they may mingle indistinguishably with the enslaving or absorbing race, but they are seldom obliterated. Some time ago a savant of Basel tried a curious experiment. He took a female skull from a barrow by the Lake of Neuchâtel, known by its contents to be a burial-place of the lake-folk, and carefully and scientifically built upon it with plaster a replica of the woman's countenance. The reconstructed face was of a type that may often be seen to-day among the people around the Lake of Neuchâtel. So it would seem that these prehistoric people are still racially represented in the Switzerland of to-day, and that the features and the characteristics that were to be found in that far-off age are not missing in our own times. The result

of the skull experiment may, of course, have been a coincidence. But it seems rather to point to a remarkable yet most credible survival.

(*iii.*) *The Helvetians*

With the progress of the Iron Age the lake-dwellings were gradually abandoned and river sides were the more favoured abodes. Then we lose sight of the prehistoric peoples altogether; they are hidden by the approach of the Celts. This is the first great movement of invasion that we know about in Western Europe. We cannot tell precisely when it happened; it seems to have extended over an age. Nor can we tell, except in the vaguest manner, how it happened. The period just before the dawn of history impresses the observer as one of incessant movings-on of great masses of people. The movings-on were, in fact, only occasional. A tribe would abide on a space of territory for hundreds of years; then the itch for fairer climes or more fertile soils would seize it, or it would find itself hard pressed by some other tribe that wanted a change, and there would be migration, war and conquest.

This is apparently how the Celts came to Central and Western Europe, and how the Teutons came after them. The motion was mixed and irregular. It is believed by some, for instance, that a Germanic tribe abode by the Lake of Thun before the coming of the Celts, and was absorbed or pushed out by these invaders. Anyhow, the permeation of Switzerland and the adjoining regions by the Celts was pretty thorough. They occupied most of Switzerland itself, highland and lowland; they overran Gaul; they drove a wedge across Northern Italy and split the Etruscan people in twain. The Alpine districts of Switzerland were occupied by Celtic tribes, of whom we know nothing except a few names recorded by the Romans. The most conspicuous of these were the Veragri, who received

special Roman attention because they occupied the region about the St Bernard Pass. Another tribe, that of the Lepontines, who occupied the St Gotthard region, left its name to the Lepontine Alps.

By far the greatest of the Celtic peoples who made their home on the soil of Switzerland were the Helvetians, who have given the land its poetic name. We are so accustomed in our own island to associate Celts with mountains that it may be a little surprising to learn that the predominant Celts of Switzerland were not mountaineers at all—actually disliked and avoided mountains. The Alpine valleys were the refuge of the smaller and weaker tribes; the Helvetians in their might chose the fertile and sunny lowlands for their dwelling-place. They came, it is generally supposed, from the country between the Main and the Rhine, pressed onward by truculent Germanic tribes in the north. They established themselves upon the lowland belt between Lake Leman and the Lake of Constance, and there held their own both against the Germans and the neighbouring tribes of Gaul.

The history of the Helvetians, so far as we know it, is a part of the history of Gaul. They were the Gallic people most renowned for skill and courage in warfare, and were certainly not the least civilized of the Celts. They had twelve important towns, and fortified these towns with a military soundness that won a tribute from the Romans themselves. They worked metals with skill and had a fine taste both in arms and in warlike accoutrements. They tilled the fields, used metal currency, and were acquainted with the Greek alphabet. Their form of government was the characteristic clan system of the Celts—tribal chieftains with privileged retainers, and inferiors in various degrees of serfdom. The chiefs and their retainers used to assemble together to settle questions of national import, chiefly questions of war. A strong central government was not tolerated; any chief who made pretensions to king-

ship was certain to fare hardly at the hands of the other chieftains and their men.

Thus the Helvetians fought, hunted, grew corn, moulded metals, and practised the Druidical rites of their race until Julius Cæsar came bearing the sword of conquest and the lamp of history. Cæsar, however, was not the first Roman commander whom the Helvetians faced in arms. The German tribes to the north used to make elaborate raids upon Gaul, and passed right through Helvetian territory for the purpose. The Helvetians, so far from resenting the passage of these intruders, sometimes actually went along with them. There were four main divisions of the Helvetic race; three of them were called the Tigurini, the Toygeni and the Verbigeni—the name of the fourth is lost. The Tigurini dwelt in the west, with Aventicum (Avenches, near the Lake of Morat) as their capital; and it was this tribe, whose leader was a famous fighting man named Divico, which was persuaded by the Cimbri and Teutones to accompany them in 107 B.C. in a great march across Gaul to the Garonne. At Agen, on that river, the Romans, under the Consul Cassius, encountered the German-Celtic hosts and received one of the heaviest defeats in Roman military history. The Tigurini did not seek to profit much by the triumph; they plundered for a while and then made their way homewards. Their next experience of Roman arms was less encouraging. Five years afterwards the Tigurini, along with the Toygeni, joined the Germans in an attack upon Southern Gaul. Decisive and slaughterous Roman victories at Vercellæ and Aquæ Sextiæ annihilated this raid and placed a veto upon future raids.

For the next forty years or so the Helvetians seem to have had few dealings of any kind with Rome. But all the while the Roman penetration of Gaul was proceeding steadily. Southern Gaul submitted to the eagles, and the country of the Allobroges, Savoy and Geneva, had been conquered as far back

as 121 B.C. The Allobroges were truculent people, who were not rendered any milder by cruel misgovernment, and were in a constant state of unrest. Hence, when the Helvetians approached them about 60 B.C. with a request for a right of way through their territory to Southern Gaul, the Allobroges gave a ready consent.

The Helvetians, indeed, had decided on a migration on an enormous scale. The Germanic tribes, warned off Southern Gaul, were now pressing hard upon Helvetia itself. The Helvetians, who seem to have had no appreciation of the danger they were incurring at the hands of the Romans, were persuaded by Orgetorix, one of their chieftains, to abandon their old homes and seek a new country in the west. The idea was taken up with enthusiasm not only by the Helvetians, but by numbers of the Rauraci, who dwelt beyond the Jura around Basel, and the Sequani, the people to the west of Lake Neuchâtel. In two years the emigrants had collected their goods and organized their march. One preliminary step was to condemn Orgetorix to death for aspiring to kingship; the unfortunate promoter of the expedition perished by his own hand to escape being burnt alive. One may imagine his angered spirit brooding over the progress of the vast and hapless enterprise that he had planned.

In the spring of 58 B.C. the emigrants burnt their homes and assembled, 368,000 of them according to Cæsar, near Geneva to begin the march. The first hitch occurred at Geneva, where they had purposed crossing the Rhone into the land of the Allobroges. There was no bridge to cross; Cæsar had broken it down. The great man was at this time Governor of Southern Gaul, and had no intention of allowing these formidable Helvetians to appropriate territory under his charge. But he understood the tactical advantage of catching the Helvetians on the move, and he sought at first to obstruct but not to prevent their march. While the Helvetians, unable to

cross the Rhone, were painfully struggling over the Jura range, Cæsar got together a fine fast-moving army with which he presently appeared hovering in the wake of the emigrants. His first exploit was the cutting up of a rear-guard of the Tigurini at the crossing of the Saône—an acceptable vengeance for the defeat nearly fifty years before at Agen. He then moved rapidly to the van of the great unwieldy procession, encountered the Helvetian warriors at Bibracte (Mont Beuvray, near Autun), and after a terrific struggle, in which the courage on both sides was equal but the military skill wholly with the Romans, inflicted upon them a most murderous defeat. The fighting men were almost wiped out, and although the distressed caravan, now mainly composed of women and children, struggled forward for a little longer, the surviving leaders had ultimately to throw themselves on Cæsar's mercy.

Having accomplished his end, Cæsar was compliant and even generous. He instructed them to return to Helvetia, supplied them with food for their journey, and when they were at home laid the foundations of the system that was developed later on by his nephew Augustus. The basis of that system was that the Helvetians, as Roman subjects—although flattered with the title of allies—should form a bulwark for the protection of Gaul. The dignity of being termed allies was sacrificed by the Helvetians when they took part in the ill-starred revolt of the Gallic leader Vercingetorix in 52 B.C. Meanwhile Cæsar had planted a Roman colony at Noviodunum (Nyon) on the Lake of Geneva, and cast an eye on the Valais with a perception of the military value of the Great St Bernard Pass. His lieutenant, Galba, occupied Octodurus (Martigny), but a winter attack of the Veragri and other tribesmen compelled him to withdraw to the Lake of Geneva. The check, however, was but temporary. The affairs of Helvetia and the Alps generally are obscure during the years of

Roman convulsion that preceded and followed Cæsar's death; but when the mist clears again, on the accession of Augustus, the Roman conquest is seen to be taking very definite outline.

(*iv.*) *Roman Switzerland*

Under Augustus and his successors the whole area was organized elaborately as a province and as a frontier. Helvetia became a portion of Gallia Belgica, which extended from the North Sea to the Alps. Later on this unwieldy stretch of territory was divided into three, and Helvetia belonged to Germania Superior. The Helvetians, however, were allowed to maintain their own individuality and their own usages; Helvetia was called a state—*Civitas Helvetiorum*—and its character, until well on in the first century of our era, was that of a frontier state. Its northern border was the Rhine, and across the Rhine were the hostile Germanic tribes. We shall see presently how the Romans organized the defences of Helvetia. But first it is necessary to look at the other borders.

To the west, of course, was Gaul. The land south of the Rhone was part of Gallia Narbonensis, and its frontier town was Gennava (Geneva). The Romans do not seem to have attached much importance to Geneva, which only ranked as a *vicus* (village or small town). It had less distinction during the Roman epoch than in earlier days, when it was a critical point on the highway between Helvetia and the Mediterranean. The entire pacification of the region around it, and the establishment of a military colony at Noviodunum close at hand, deprived it of strategic significance; but it continued to be a mart of trade, and gained popularity as a residential resort.

The Valais district beyond the upper end of the lake was ruled by the Procurator of the Pœnine. This official's prime duty was the guardianship of what we now call the Great St

Bernard Pass. This pass had been used by travellers from very early times, and the inhabitants of the region won an extensive celebrity as brigands. The Romans at the time of Augustus put a stop to their unlawful proceedings, and fulfilled the project of Julius Cæsar by making an efficient mule-track over the pass. Traces of this Roman achievement in road-making are still to be seen. Pœninus appears to have been a local deity whose personality and attributes the Romans, according to their wont, incorporated with one of their own gods. A temple to Jupiter Pœninus, where wayfarers might make votive offerings after a successful ascent, stood near to where the famous hospice stands to-day. The pass itself has been proselytized since then, but the Pennine Alps preserve the old heathen name.

The Simplon Pass seems also to have been used by early travellers, who made their way onwards to Helvetia by the Lötschen or the Gemmi Pass across the Oberland Alps. The Romans did not develop the Simplon route, probably for the practical reason that they wished to avoid crossing two high ranges. Their neglect of the St Gotthard is not so easily accounted for; the undoubted fact is that this obvious short cut from Italy to the northern border of Helvetia was totally ignored. Perhaps the Romans disliked the narrow and difficult defile of the Reuss.

Across Helvetia's eastern border dwelt a race that from the earliest times had had a totally distinctive history. The tangle of mountains and valleys around the head waters of the Rhine and the Inn, and the neighbouring regions across the main chain of the Alps, were inhabited by the Rhætians, who believed themselves—quite rightly, it would seem—to be of Etruscan origin. There is no exact knowledge where the Etruscans came from; they are thought to have emigrated from the Balkan Peninsula, and the newest theory is that they were conquered by, and incorporated with, a race called

Rasena that descended from these very Rhætian mountains. Anyhow, the Etruscans held the land from mid-Italy to the Alps, and over the Alps until the Celtic wedge of which we have already spoken thrust itself along the valley of the Po and split the Etruscans in two. The northern half held its mountain strongholds against the invader, and the legendary hero, Rhætus, is said to have won his fame in this defensive warfare. At Thusis on the Hinter-Rhein, crowning a huge precipitous rock, stands the ruined castle of Hohen-Rhätien. The story is that the castle was founded by Rhætus himself in his struggle with the Gauls; tradition even supplies a date for the foundation as far back as 579 B.C. Unfortunately there is no evidence that Rhætus ever existed, and the name Rhætia is probably derived, not from him, but from the Celtic *rait*, a mountain land. The invaders, indeed, were not kept altogether at bay, and when the Romans entered the land there was a strong element there of the pervasive Celt. The two races blended into a hardy and intractable mountain people, the Pathans of the Alps as it were, who gave unlimited trouble to the guardians of the Italian plains.

In 15 B.C. the Romans, at the command of Augustus, formally undertook the conquest of the country. After a stern campaign the Rhætians were overcome and their country organized into a province. The Roman Rhætia included what is now the Grisons canton, part of Tyrol, and some Alpine portions of Lombardy. The chief towns were Trent and Chur (Coire). The latter place, the name of which is derived from the Latin *Curia*, denoting a seat of government, was the central point of the route to the North across the Septimer Pass, used by the Romans in this quarter of the Alps. The Splügen Pass may also have been used by them, but there seems to be no reason for believing that the Julier and the St Bernardin were recognized Roman passes. In the beautiful old town of Coire there stand by the Bishop's Palace three old towers

believed to be survivals of the Roman conquest. The names of two of them, Marsoel (*Mars in oculis*) and Spinoel (*Spina in oculis*), are supposed to denote, by some queer metaphor, the subjugation of the Rhætians. These were certainly subjugated with great thoroughness; they even adopted the language of their conquerors, and many of them speak bastard Latin to this day. Levies raised in Rhætia made fine fighting material for the Romans in distant parts of their Empire.

After this digression (Switzerland is such a piecemeal country that its history must consist very largely of digressions) we may return to the main theme of Helvetia. It has been said that during the earlier years of Roman possession Helvetia was a frontier country; the prime consideration of its owners was that of defence. The defence was secured by establishing a chain of strongholds along the Rhine; by making roads, laying down headquarters and depots, and generally arranging for the prompt despatch of men and material to the front; and by causing the inhabitants to take a part in the protection of their land.

To take the last item first—the Helvetians, although drafts of them were taken for military service afar off, had the privilege (so the Romans deemed it) of helping to hold the frontier that was formerly theirs. Their old life was at first but little interfered with; they preserved their customs and forms of government, were only deprived of so much of their land as was required by the Roman settlements, and had no exacting obligation save that of military service—no real hardship to a proud and combative race.

But while the Helvetians thus dwelt much in their old way, the Romans were steadily changing the country's aspect. The Roman legionaries were handy men who could build, make roads, or fight as occasion required, and during the reign of Augustus they were kept fully employed. The first consideration was that of through routes from the south to the

Rhine frontier. There were three of these. The first came from Southern Gaul through Gennava (where it was joined by a road across the little St Bernard Pass), Noviodunum (Nyon), and Lausonium (Lausanne). The other crossed the Pœnine and passed through Octodurus (Martigny) down the Rhone valley. These two routes joined at Aventicum (Avenches), the political capital of Helvetia, and were connected before they struck northwards from Lake Leman by a road from Lausonium to Viviscus (Vevey). From Aventicum a road went northwards over the Jura to the important administrative and military centre, Augusta Raurica, situated at the northward bend of the Rhine, close to where Basel now stands. Another road took a north-easterly direction to Vindonissa (Windisch), strongly placed on high ground at the confluence of the Aar and the Reuss, the headquarters of the Rhine defensive system. The third route had a choice of passes (perhaps) over the Alps to Coire, and then followed the Rhine valley northwards to Brigantium (Bregenz) on the Lake of Constance. Besides these there were, of course, many minor roads both for military and for commercial purposes. Turicum (Zürich), for example, was connected both with Vindonissa and with the Coire route. Zürich was in those days the Helvetian customs station for travellers from Rhætia, and even then had begun its commercial greatness.

During the years of Helvetia's history as a frontier state only one incident stands out conspicuously. In the dispute for the Imperial throne that followed the death of Nero the Helvetians supported the ill-fated Galba; Cæcina, the Roman commander in charge of the frontier, was an adherent of Vitellius. The imprisonment of certain messengers of Cæcina enraged that general and his troops so much that they ran amok in Helvetia. They marched out of Vindonissa with fell intent; Aquæ (Baden), a favourite watering-place, was the first town that had the misfortune to come upon their track,

and they destroyed it. There followed a wholesale massacre of Rhætian troops, who were on Galba's side (the news had not reached Helvetia that Galba had been murdered); then Cæcina advanced through the country plundering and burning until he reached Aventicum. Here he proposed to exterminate the entire Helvetian people, but his soldiery, moved by the appeals of a renowned orator of the country, resolved to be merciful, and the Helvetians were spared.

Before this time Helvetia had been losing its Celtic character, and the process of Latinization was hastened during the subsequent reign of Vespasian (A.D. 68-79). That emp ror took a fancy to Aventicum, and remodelled the town on Roman lines. As the Germans beyond the Rhine were subdued by the Empire, commerce took the place of war as Helvetia's main interest; merchants came from afar and settled there, and the Helvetians took to developing their own resources; the country, moreover, was found attractive as a place of residence by wealthy Roman citizens. When in the days of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) the old Rhine frontier was abolished and a new defensive line drawn along the Main and the Danube, the Swiss lowlands became virtually a little Italy across the Alps. The fair shores of Lake Leman were studded with Roman villas; temples and public buildings were reared, the arts were cultivated, and Aventicum especially—sleepy little Avenches by Lake Morat—became the centre of a vivid southern life and of the refined activities of a highly-strung civilization.

The Swiss museums are full of relics of this dazzling epoch of Helvetia's history. The most impressive relics of all, however, are those that a museum will not hold. Few Roman buildings remain on the soil of Switzerland; the hand of the destroyer, as we shall presently see, fell heavily upon the country. But at Avenches there are recognizable remains of a great amphitheatre where once chariots raced and gladiators

fought. Traces of amphitheatres are visible also near Windisch (Vindonissa) and near Martigny. At Avenches there was also a theatre for dramatic performances, but little sign of it is left. At Basel-Augst, however, the site of the old Augusta Raurica, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the modern Basel, a Roman theatre is still to be seen. Much of the great building has collapsed, and numbers of trees have grown among the ruins. But in the leafy shade we may still see tier above tier, and staircase after staircase, and observe the spaciousness of the level between tiers and stage. The theatre was built to hold thousands.

The most majestic and pathetic of all the Roman relics in Switzerland, however, is the solitary Corinthian column supported by a fragment of wall that stands to the north-west of Avenches. Lost is the temple of Apollo, of which it is believed to have formed a part; why this one column was spared is a mystery beyond human knowledge. Lost utterly is the whole civilization to which it belonged. It stands there in eternal loneliness, wearing, as Byron wrote of it, "a grey and grief-worn aspect of old days." For many generations the storks, those romantically-minded birds, have made it their home, and because of them the natives call it *le cigognier*, the stork's nest. It is the most significant and melancholy emblem that survives of Helvetia's catastrophe.

For the brilliant age of Helvetian civilization was a doomed age. The hand of the barbarian was knocking at the door; ere the end of the third century of our era the door had been broken down. About A.D. 260 the fierce tribes of the Allemanni cut their way through the Roman cordon and raided Helvetia. Augusta Raurica was overthrown; Aventicum itself suffered damage that was never to be repaired. Towards the end of the century the Roman defensive line was brought back from the Main to the Rhine; Helvetia became once more a frontier state. But it was not the old Helvetia. Two centuries of

Remains of Roman Theatre, Basel-Augst

sheltered ease had taken away the Celtic martial spirit; like the Romanized Britons in our own island, the Helvetians yielded to the invader or fled before him. Early in the fourth century all that was left of Aventicum was levelled to the ground—except that lonely pillar. For a hundred years afterwards raid followed raid, and the fifth century saw Helvetia permanently in the clutches of the barbarian and its inhabitants either enslaved or driven into exile.

(*v.*) *Christianity*

So ended the history of the Roman province of Helvetia. The blood of the ancient Helvetians still flows in the veins of the modern Swiss, and the Roman influence, as will be seen in the next chapter, was never wholly obliterated. One great change that came about under Roman auspices must, however, be noticed here. It was during the later days of Roman rule that Christianity came to Helvetia. The beginnings of the new Faith are very indistinct indeed. The first mention of it occurs in A.D. 118, when the governor of Rhætia took measures to suppress the disciples of Christ, who were becoming too numerous in the land. Then comes a long silence of nearly 200 years; then we are told of a legion from Egypt, called the Theban, drafted into Helvetia for military purposes, and there proclaiming its Christianity. The story goes that it was almost entirely massacred in the year 285 or 302; but a few members of it escaped and ardently spread their faith among the Helvetians. Two of these survivors were martyred, it is said, at Solothurn, and two—Felix and Regula—at Zürich; and the legend regarding both couples is the same—that after being beheaded they arose, picked up their heads, carried them to the top of a neighbouring hill and there buried themselves. The captain of the legion, Mauritius, was

one of the victims, and from him the Abbey of St Maurice in the Valais, probably the oldest of the abbeys of Switzerland, took its name. Faint traces of this very early Christian structure have recently been discovered.

The Valais was perhaps the first Swiss region to be completely converted to the new Faith, and St Theodule, the first Bishop of Sion (said to have held the see from 381 to 391), is the only early Swiss prelate of whom even legend tells us much. According to Valais tradition, he was one of the numerous saints who outwitted the devil. The story runs that the Pope presented the bishop with a fine bell, and that Theodule was at a loss to know how to convey it across the Alps. In his emergency he applied to Satan, offering his soul to that potentate if the bell were conveyed from Rome to Sion in a single night and completed before cock-crow. Satan joyfully agreed and set off with the bell, the bishop clinging to it. The shortest cut was taken—over the snow pass from Breuil to Zermatt, that is called Theodule to this day. The journey was accomplished long before dawn, and Satan was just about to clear the walls of Sion with a triumphant bound when the saint called out from the bell, "Crow, cocks, crow, or for ever cease to crow!" Whereupon the cocks of Sion crew with all their might in the darkness, and the disappointed fiend straightway dropped the bell and vanished.[1]

Christianity was adopted as the official religion under Constantine in A.D. 313, and the Helvetian region was organized for the purposes of the new Faith. Bishoprics were established at Gennava, Aventicum, Octodurus, Vindonissa, Augusta Raurica, and Curia in Rhætia, as well as at Sion. The identification of the first Christian buildings is very difficult indeed. They seem to have been largely constructed from the debris of Pagan temples, knocked down by the barbarians;

[1] An equally quaint variation of this legend is given in Whymper's *Guide to Zermatt and the Matterhorn*, p. 2.

afterwards the barbarians came again and knocked down the Christian churches also. When it is added that the orthodox Christians seem to have had a good deal of trouble with the queer mystical heresy of the Gnostics, all has been said about the beginnings of Christianity that can be said with any definiteness. The lamp of the Faith, once lighted, was carefully guarded during the wild days of the invasions and was never wholly extinguished.

Before leaving the subject of Roman Switzerland we may touch upon the strange legend by which the name of a very prominent Roman was associated with a Swiss mountain. How Pilatus came to be connected with Pontius Pilate is an insoluble mystery. The explanation, apparently, does not lie in an etymological confusion. The ancient name of the mountain was not *mons pilatus*, but *mons fractus*; the name Pilatus did not come into general use until about a hundred years ago. But it is certain that throughout the Middle Ages the spirit of Pontius Pilate was supposed to haunt Pilatus, or, more exactly, to haunt the shores of a little tarn—now a swamp—to the north of the summit and about 2000 feet below it.

The most familiar form of the story is that Pilate, wandering in agonies of remorse over the waste places of Europe, plunged into the lake and drowned himself. The authentic version, which is much more elaborate, has been carefully resurrected for English readers by Mr Francis Gribble.[1] Pilate, it was said, evaded a death-sentence by committing suicide, and the Emperor Tiberius had his body cast into the Tiber. Violent thunderstorms occurred as signals of heavenly anger, and the body was fished out and immersed in the Rhone at Vienne. Here, also, there was trouble with thunderstorms, so the body was taken out again and thrown into the lake on Pilatus, where, presumably, bad weather did not matter.

[1] *The Story of Alpine Climbing*, pp. 20-24.

Once a year, it was believed, on the Wednesday before Easter, the spirit of Pilate emerged from the lake and sat glowering on a rock. Anyone who saw him there would surely die within a twelvemonth; and any throwing of stones into the lake was certain to bring disaster on the neighbourhood.

The people of mediæval Lucerne showed keen anxiety to keep Pilate out of mischief. Nobody was allowed on the mountain without special leave of the authorities, who insisted that the climber should be accompanied by a respectable burgher to see that Pilate was not disturbed. The Reformation, however, brought scepticism with it. The scholar, Joachim von Watt, known as Vadianus, went up to the lake and on to the summit in 1518; he declared, as a result of his investigations, that although the body of Pilate might be in the lake his spirit certainly never appeared on its banks. A generation later another scholar, Conrad Gesner, expressed a belief that Pilate had nothing whatever to do with the lake. The final triumph of the sceptics came in 1585, when Pastor Johann Müller and a large body of psychical researchers went to the lake and flung innumerable stones into it, doing all they could to stir Pilate up. Pilate gave no sign, and belief in the legend died away.

Still, however, the old story endows with a touch of fantasy the grim cloven peak that towers above the fair waters of Lucerne.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Prehistoric dwellings at Veyrier (near Geneva) and Schaffhausen.

Remains of lake-dwellings (best seen by the lakes of Bienne, Neuchâtel and Zürich).

Great St Bernard Pass.

Martigny.

Nyon.

Avenches (Roman theatre and amphitheatre; Corinthian pillar).

Basel-Augst, near Basel (theatre).

Windisch, by Brugg (amphitheatre).

Tower, reputedly built by the Emperor Constantine, at Maienfeld.

Pierre du Niton (traditionally a Roman altar to Neptune) at Geneva.

Coire (Roman towers).

Hohen-Rhätien Castle at Thusis.

Septimer Pass.

Prehistoric, Celtic and Roman relics in museums of Bern, Zürich, Avenches, Lausanne, Geneva, Basel, etc.

Early Christian remains (scanty) at St Maurice.

CHAPTER III

THE INVASIONS AND THE EMPIRE

(*i.*) *The Barbarians*

It was said in the last chapter that the blood of the Helvetians flows in the veins of the modern Swiss people. But it flows there indistinguishably, for the Helvetians, as a racial entity, were cancelled by the more robust and martial peoples who gained and held, and hold to this day, the soil of Switzerland. With the downfall of Roman rule we are brought for the first time into contact with the men whose descendants made the Swiss Republic. But that happened many centuries later, and in the intervening period there was, properly speaking, no Swiss history at all except in local detail. The land belonged in sections to one monarchy or another, to one feudal lordship or another; it had no history of its own, but simply casual occurrence in the history of other countries; and over all, intermittently at first and then steadily, extended the shadow of the mediæval empire. But all this while, in the little mountain communities, in the monasteries, and in the slowly-developing corporate activities of the towns, the processes were obscurely at work that were, in the fulness of time, to give birth to a proud and free nation.

This is looking a long way ahead; we must return to the dim tumult of the fifth century, when the land was taken and kept by the barbarians. The two Germanic tribes who made the soil of Switzerland their permanent home were the Alle-

manni and the Burgundians. Of these the Allemanni were, at the time of the invasion, the more characteristically Germanic. They were akin in blood and in spirit to the men who about the same time crossed the sea to plunder and subdue Southern Britain. The Allemanni are thought to have dwelt in earlier days on the plains of Prussia. They made their way south-westwards to the forests around the Main, where they contended for age after age with the might of Rome. From these days two traditions, one of them architectural and the other political, have been handed down practically unbroken. Why have the dwellers in the Alps such a preference for wooden houses? There is plenty of wood to be had in the Alps, it is true; but there is also assuredly plenty of stone to be had. The explanation is that the Allemanni, living in forests, naturally built their houses of wood; they carried the practice with them into the Alpine regions, and, being an intensely conservative folk, never abandoned it. While the Allemanni remained in the forests their wooden dwellings were portable affairs; when tribal exigencies caused them to move on, or move back, the houses were stacked on waggons and taken by their owners to the new ground.

The political tradition is one of extraordinary interest. The governance of the primitive German tribes, as we know from early English history, had a strong democratic element. There were powerful chiefs and powerful nobles; but the actual sovereignty rested with the body of landowning freemen, who gathered round the moot-hill or sacred tree to interpret the tribal customs and solve the issues of peace or war. This is the primitive form of that democratic polity which has had its most lavish expansion in the English system. But in Switzerland the primitive form still survives. The *Lands-gemeinde* of the smaller cantons, where the whole body of citizens gathers to legislate for the community, is a living and working descendant of the old Teutonic folk-thing. The English

historian Freeman was not a writer prone to exuberance; but the sight of this direct democracy of the little cantons, noble alike in its simplicity and in its immemorial age, moved him to a rhapsody that is perhaps the most memorable passage he ever penned.

There is more to be said about the Allemanni, for although their posterity form only a part of the modern Swiss nation, that part has exercised the prevailing influence in the country's affairs. Swiss polity has been essentially Germanic; the non-Germanic populations have conformed, freely or otherwise, to the principles of government laid down by the German-speaking Swiss. We have seen how in the third and fourth centuries the Allemanni made devastating raids upon Helvetian territory. A heavy defeat inflicted upon them by the Romans at Strassburg in 357 held them in check for a time. But early in the fifth century—about 406—they broke definitely through the Rhine defences and established themselves permanently in North Switzerland and Alsace.

The method in which they settled the new country is very notable, for it was the origin of much that is characteristic of the latter-day life of Switzerland. With the Allemanni war was not an end, as it seems to have been with some of the barbarian hordes that strayed over Europe at this time; it was a means to an end. Their quest was land; they were hunters and herdsmen, and to some extent cultivators, with an abhorrence of town life and no fear of solitude, provided that it brought to them the undisturbed possession that they sought. Hence the Alpine valleys rather attracted than repelled them. They found their way into most of the recesses of the Middle Alpine region. Not only the northern lowlands, but the mountains around the Lake of Lucerne, the Bernese Oberland, and part of the Valais were occupied by them; they penetrated a long way into Rhætia. The fifth century, therefore, saw the beginnings in these remote places of primitive

communities of freemen, each with his own area of soil; each community, in accordance with the immemorial usage, had its space of common ground, and each enforced its laws and controlled its affairs in an assembly of all the freemen.

Meanwhile the western part of Switzerland was occupied by another race, also Germanic, but at this period far less distinctively so than the Allemanni. The Burgundians are believed to have come originally from the region between the Oder and the Vistula. At the beginning of the fifth century they dwelt in the Rhine country between Maintz and Worms. The Roman influence had told upon them, and they were no longer simple barbarians of the Allemanic type. Hence, when they followed the prevailing fashion and began to trespass upon Imperial territory, the guardians of the dying empire made terms with them. The Burgundians were allowed to occupy Western Switzerland, Savoy, and the eastern part of France from the Vosges to the Mediterranean. The Roman general, Aëtius, gave them two-thirds of the soil and one-third of the slaves, and called upon them in return to protect the remains of the empire against barbarians worse than themselves.

The Burgundian element is the prevailing racial element among the French-speaking people of Western Switzerland. These people have also probably a strong Helvetic admixture, for the Burgundians amalgamated with the Helvetians rather than subjected them. These semi-Romanized Germans differed from the Allemanni in being Christians at the time of their migration. Their houses were built, not of wood, but of stone. Traces of their structures are left at Geneva, which became an important town of the kingdom that they founded. But the most distinctive relic of them is the clock-tower of Solothurn, popularly supposed to be Roman, but in reality Burgundian. On the tower is a Latin inscription, of which the Solothurn people are very proud, that "There is no place in the

Celtic lands more ancient than Solothurn, except only Trèves."

Neither the Allemanni nor Burgundians were given much rest during this eventful fifth century. Other barbarians, of varying degrees of truculence, incessantly troubled the newly-settled territory. Most dreaded of all were the Huns, who in 436 inflicted upon the Burgundians the tremendous defeat commemorated in the *Nibelungenlied*. The defeat was avenged in 451, when Rome nerved herself for a last despairing effort, and with her allies under Aëtius crushed the detested invaders on the Catalaunian plain. Later in the century the Rhætians fell into the milder hands of Theodoric and his Ostrogoths, and during Theodoric's short and brilliant attempt to revive the empire Rhætia was in the position of a privileged frontier country. The Vandals seem also to have passed through Switzerland, and place-names may indicate that they left some settlements behind them.

Of greatest import, however, was the coming of the Franks. This masterful race, under the great Merovingian monarch Clovis, brought the Allemanni, for the first time in their experience, under a foreign yoke. In 496 Clovis overthrew the power of the Allemanni, and the land they had occupied came under the rule of Frankish counts and governors. In 532 the Burgundians were subdued, and the cession of Rhætia by the Goths made the Merovingian kings lords of all Swiss territory north of the Alps. At this time began, indistinctly, the method of subordinate tenures that developed into the feudal system. Allemannia had a duke; Burgundy, although it had lost its independence, retained an under-king or patricius; and Rhætia was throughout the Merovingian period under the sway of a single family of great nobles.

Both Allemannia and Burgundy were restive under the degenerate Merovingian monarchs who followed Clovis, and both required martial attentions from the " Mayors of the Palace,"

who took first the power from the throne and then the throne itself, and were presently to give to the age its greatest man. With the dynastic events that preceded the coming of that man, and followed his passing, we are not here intimately concerned. Summary treatment is all that is needed for the changes of this complicated and, on the whole, stupid period of European history. Our concern is rather with the circumstances—small circumstances, perhaps—that were moulding the future life of the Switzerland that was yet unborn. Hence we shall turn aside for a while to follow in the footsteps of a wandering Irishman.

His name was Columban; he and his fellow-workers had founded in Ireland and in the west of Scotland a new and fervent Christian missionary movement, which extended to England and afterwards to the continent of Europe. In the seventh century Columban and a group of disciples—strange-looking enthusiasts, tattooed, and with hair streaming over their shoulders—were busy evangelizing in the Vosges country. The little band incurred the wrath of the Merovingian kings and moved forward into the land of the Allemanni, where heathenism still prevailed. At Tuggen, on the Lake of Zürich, Columban opened his campaign by violently upsetting an offering of beer that certain of the Allemanni were making to Odin. The heathen were duly impressed with Odin's failure to take immediate vengeance for the outrage, and the work of evangelization, thus drastically begun, prospered exceedingly. Columban spent three years in the country of the Allemanni and when he left for Italy he entrusted to his disciple Gallus the foundation and rule of the monastery by the banks of the Steinach, near the Lake of Constance, which has given the name of St Gall to a town and a canton.

Other monasteries were founded at Rheinau and Säckingen, and we hear of Anglo-Saxon missionaries coming to the region to continue the work of their Irish brethren. Paganism died

hard among the Allemanni, and the monks, in fulfilling the duty imposed upon them by Columban, "to read, to pray, and to toil with the hands," had a hard and sometimes a perilous task. Threatened, and sometimes persecuted by the heathen, they had also to endure the ban of the orthodox Church. The bishops of Constance, who had kept alive the Christian tradition in the troublous earlier times, looked with disapproval on the Irish heretics; reconciliation did ultimately come about, and in the case of St Gall it seems to have occurred in the eighth century. After the death of Charlemagne the monks set about rebuilding their abbey on a larger scale. A plan of the enlargement still exists—a monastic document beyond price. In spite of its perturbed early career the abbey of St Gall gained continuously by the benefactions of the pious, and the monks, at the time of the rebuilding, were already a wealthy and powerful corporation.

(*ii.*) *Charlemagne*

The labours of the Irish were the prime influence in converting the Allemanni and gave a general impetus to the spreading of the Faith. The seventh century saw the foundation of the great abbey at Disentis in Rhætia, and in 724 the Frankish bishop, St Firmin, established a notable religious house on the Isle of Reichenau in Lake Constance. At the other end of Switzerland the abbey of St Maurice, in the Valais, was reacquiring prosperity and power. But the might of the Church received its greatest accession through Charlemagne. This colossal ruler, whose career strikes like a strong and steadfast beam of light through the darkness of the age, made the Church the corner-stone of his vast policy. His cardinal achievement was the revival of the Western Empire in the form of a union of the spiritual and temporal powers in univer-

sal sway. The temporal power, in Charlemagne's conquering hands, was already supreme; it was the spiritual power that needed strengthening, and Charlemagne did all that he could, in Rome and everywhere else, to enhance its wealth and influence. The exaction of tithes on behalf of religious institutions; the encouragement of benefactions; the bestowal of administrative powers on bishops and abbots; the employment of the Church for the spread of education—all these gave to the Faith a prestige and a command of concrete and moral resources that it possessed and exercised with most significant results throughout the Middle Ages.

The territory that is now Switzerland was deeply affected by this growth of ecclesiastical power. It was affected hardly less deeply, if less permanently, by Charlemagne's political system. During the later part of his reign, which dated from 768 to 814, the whole of the Alpine range was for the last time under the sway of a single ruler. Throughout this and the other great areas under Charlemagne's control an administrative plan was adopted that was to tend towards feudalism, but was in essence bureaucratic. It was, however, anything but a bureaucracy of the iron-heel type. Charlemagne's ideal, which he realized marvellously during his lifetime but could not make permanent, was to combine the strong central control and uniform administration of Imperial Rome with the diverse laws and liberties of the Teutonic stock from which he himself sprang. His empire was divided, for administrative purposes, into counties, each with a governor holding his appointment from the Crown, and each subdivided into smaller areas with subordinate rulers. The territorial magnates and the Church dignitaries were all brought into this system in a manner that imposed responsibility upon them and made them answerable in all ways to the ruler. The laws they administered were not their own and not Charlemagne's; they were the ancient laws and customs of the tribe. The

Allemanni thus maintained their old assemblies of the freemen and their old usages as to property and the dispensing of justice. Charlemagne, indeed, strengthened the usages as to property by decreeing that any man who brought a plot of Alpine soil under cultivation should thereby become the owner of the soil.

Charlemagne, who seems to have thought of quite a number of things centuries before anybody else did, gave an impetus to town life by his foundation of "villas," settlements in which persons skilled in some industry were brought together for their mutual advantage. So that even the humble artisan—he was genuinely and compulsorily humble in those days—had his share of encouragement from this large-minded emperor. There were a number of these "villas" on Swiss territory; that territory, indeed, had experience of every aspect of Charlemagne's policy. It was divided into counties, it had its local administrators, and each of its peoples maintained their own laws; and the emperor's travelling commissions (*missi*) often came there to see that the administrators were not failing in or exceeding their duty. The emperor, it is said, often came there himself. Zürich, envied for its situation by all other industrial towns — standing by a broad expanse of water, amid rich and gentle country, with gleaming snow-peaks looking upon it from afar—plumes itself upon having been a favourite residence of the emperor, whose martial image stands upon the west tower of the cathedral. The relation of Charlemagne with Zürich has no doubt been magnified, and is certainly adorned with much that is purely legendary. This just and lovable superman left a crop of charming fables behind him wheresoever he went. But it is probable that Charlemagne did abide for a time in Zürich; it is certain that he greatly aided and favoured religion and education there and in the regions around; and it is certain, also, that although he came to the Swiss country as an alien and

a conqueror his name was held by the people in lasting honour.

(*iii.*) *Feudalism*

The memory of the spacious days of Charlemagne was all the brighter on account of the gloomy times that followed. The great emperor was master of his generation, but not of his epoch. The forces of dissolution that he had arrested reasserted themselves as soon as his body was carried to its long rest in the shrine at Aachen. The central government languished in weaker hands; the local administrations degenerated into local tyrannies; of all that Charlemagne wrought only the new might of the Church survived—and there were later emperors who did not bless him for that.

The reign of Lewis the Pious (814-840) was a long process of decay. On his death the empire was deliberately divided between his three sons. The Imperial crown went to Lothar, whose territory joined the two capitals, Rome and Aachen; that is to say, it embraced Italy and a long strip of territory stretching from the Alps to the North Sea, including Western Switzerland, and called Lotharingia after its ruler. The country to the east of this, including Allemannia or (as it came to be called as an alternative) Suabia, was assigned to Lewis, named the German, so that Allemannic and Burgundian Switzerland were again parted from each other. The land to the west of Lotharingia was the realm of Charles the Bald. Western Europe thus presented a rough sketch of Germany and a rough sketch of France, with a nondescript territory in between.

Under Lewis the German the Eastern Swiss region was able to maintain a good deal of the Imperial peace and order of Charlemagne's days. During his reign (843-876) the Church continued to advance in wealth and power; a specially notable

foundation was that of the Abbey at Zürich, where the first abbess was the king's daughter, Princess Hildegard. Lewis took care that his daughter's abbey was well endowed, and the institution was destined to wield a great influence on the affairs of Zürich and the neighbouring lands. A pair of shoes, believed to have been worn by this Princess-abbess, is oddly enough the only relic, not documentary, that Switzerland possesses of Carolingian times. They are elaborately embossed and gilded, but it would be unchivalrous to dwell upon the size of them. All went fairly well with the Eastern or German kingdom until in 900 the sceptre came into the hands of a child. Then the break-up, so fortunately delayed, began in earnest.

The impossible kingdom of Lotharingia, as might have been expected, had collapsed long before. Lothar died in 855; the imperial dignity, which had already become the shadowy thing that it so often was in later history, passed to his son, Lewis II., and Lotharingia became an area of chaotic contention among great nobles. Two notable families at length asserted their supremacy in the southern part of the kingdom. In 879 Count Boso established himself as monarch of Provence or Cis-Jurane Burgundy, and in Trans-Jurane Burgundy, which included Western Switzerland and the northern part of Savoy, Count Rudolph, of the Guelph family, gradually subdued all his rivals. His assumption of kingship was delayed by his declaration of allegiance to Charles the Fat, son of Lewis the German, and a phenomenally incompetent ruler, who by a dynastic freak inherited practically the whole dominions of Charlemagne. When Charles the Fat died in 888—his tomb is on the Isle of Reichenau in Lake Constance—Rudolf promptly had himself crowned King of Trans-Jurane Burgundy at St Maurice in the Valais. It may be said here that Burgundy has been responsible for more headaches among historical students than any other European area. Viscount

Bryce, in *The Holy Roman Empire*, enumerates ten different senses in which the term was used at various times.

The ambitions of Rudolph, and of his son Rudolph II., who succeeded him in 912, were chiefly military. Both belonged to the characteristic type of warlike feudal monarch, for feudalism, which had been steadily developing since the death of Charlemagne, was now becoming a full-fledged reality. At this time, however, the system was not a rigid one; big men and little men were scrambling for all that they could get, and holding fiercely on to their possessions when they had obtained them. The Church, meanwhile, clung to what it had, and used all its influence with the rulers to gain more.

In the German kingdom the general squabble, as has already been stated, was delayed until the accession of Lewis the Child in 899. The ambitions of the nobles in the Southern German and Swiss regions were checked to some extent by the craft and force of Solomon, the able and unscrupulous abbot of St Gall, and one of the great ruling ecclesiastics of his time. Ultimately, however, Solomon overreached himself. He persuaded Conrad I., who succeeded Lewis the Child, to make short work of the men who were trying to establish claims to the dukedom of Suabia or Allemannia. Banishment was the fate of one party, death of the other. But one of the banished men, Burkhard, son of the Marquis of Rhætia, came back and was acclaimed by nobles and people—not that the people counted for much—as Duke of Allemannia. The disconcerted Solomon went off mournfully on a pilgrimage to Rome.

While the way was thus being stormily prepared for the hard fixity of feudalism, with its gradations and homages and vassalages, various trespassers were seeking advantage out of the tumult. The dreaded Hungarians came more than once, and in 926 they raided the monastery of St Gall. The tale that some Hungarian invaders settled in the valley of Zinal, and that their descendants dwell there to this day, is entirely

mythical. More picturesque and not less formidable visitors were the Saracens, who, strange as it may seem, had quite an important part in Alpine history during the tenth century. In 887 or 888 some shipwrecked Spanish Saracen pirates established themselves in a stronghold at La Garde Freinet, near Fréjus, on the Riviera. They speedily became a pest to the neighbourhood, and afterwards to the whole region. They took to the mountains as naturally as to the sea, and some of their journeys were astonishing. In 936 they appeared in Rhætia and plundered the diocese of Coire. Four years later they sacked the Abbey of St Maurice in the Valais, and in 942 they actually made a treaty with Hugh, King of Italy, by which they gained control of the Alpine passes. The inhabitants of the region did not know in the least what to do with them. Even the powerful emperor Otto I. appealed for help against them to the Caliph of Cordova. At length two noblemen, the Count of Provence and the Marquis of Turin, resolved to make an end of them. A great and successful attack was launched upon La Garde Freinet in 975 and every Saracen was slain; so that the Alps ceased from that time forth to show any resemblance to the conditions in the Balkans.

Let us now turn back to the tenth-century lords of the soil of Switzerland. The western part of the country, it will be remembered, belonged to the kingdom of Trans-Jurane Burgundy; the eastern part was included in the dukedom of Allemannia or Suabia, under the overlordship of the German king. Allemannia was held by the Duke Burkhard as a fief of the German kingdom, the rule of which from 918 to 936 was in the strong hands of the Saxon Henry the Fowler, the bass-voiced monarch in *Lohengrin*. Burgundy was independent, save for a shadowy acknowledgment of the supremacy of the empire, which at this time hardly counted. Rudolph II. of Burgundy, whose chief occupation was fighting everybody within reach, naturally fell foul of his neighbour, Burkhard of

Tower of Refuge, Moudon

Allemannia. That potentate beat him heavily at Winterthur in 919; but the defeat was a profitable one for Rudolph. Burkhard became a friend and an ally; he gave Rudolph the hand of his daughter Bertha, and the wedding portion was the land that Rudolph had designed to annex—the stretch of territory between the Aar and the Reuss, which thus became for a time Burgundian.

Rudolph's most valuable acquisition, however, was his queen. The memory of Bertha is still a cherished tradition, and indeed her figure is one of these that are revealed in a tranquil illumination amid the stormy gloom of the age. Legend has been busy with this beloved woman, but behind the legends we do get a definite glimpse of a very credible and human personality. Queen Bertha had all the traits of what is called a "managing" woman. She is described as "humble," but one doubts whether her humility was more than a manner of speech. She could spin, weave, manage a farm, superintend an estate and govern a kingdom; what is more, she could keep others up to the mark in these various pursuits. Her tastes were domestic, and her fondness for household occupations and her indifference to queenly dignity when work was to be done no doubt account for the permanence of the regard in which she was held by the people. But a queen whose husband is generally away from home fighting somebody had other concerns besides needlework and the care of poultry. She managed great affairs with as much energy as small; her rule was traditionally just and humane; and tokens of her regard for the security of her people are to be seen in the remains of the great towers of refuge that she built—a very notable ruin of one is at Moudon, in Vaud—so that the subjects of King Rudolph might find shelter against the raids of Huns, Saracens and other foes. In the abbey church of Payerne, near Avenches, where she and her husband and son are buried, is preserved a

characteristic relic of her—a saddle with a hole in it for a distaff.

This abbey of Payerne was founded by Queen Bertha herself, and is one of the oldest examples that Switzerland possesses of the Romanesque style of architecture. The prevalence of this style during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries was due to the far-spreading influence of the Benedictine monks of Cluny, who set the pattern of the time to Western Europe both in architecture and in monastic rule. The cathedral of Zürich is predominantly Romanesque, and portions remain of the Romanesque cathedral of Basel, which was largely destroyed by earthquake and fire in 1356. In smaller buildings—the abbey of Romainmôtier on the route between Pontarlier and Lausanne, the churches of Saint Sulpice near Lausanne, of Saint-Pierre-de-Clages in the Valais, of Ruggisberg near the Lake of Thun, and All Saints at Schaffhausen—one may observe the rounded doors and windows, and the little blind arcades forming a frieze just under the roof, that tell of Cluny and the Romanesque.

A return must now be made to the affairs of Burgundy and Allemannia. The Duke Burkhard, having testified his friendship for King Rudolph by giving him a wife with a handsome dowry, went further and accompanied that combative monarch in an attempt to gain the Italian throne. The Duke was killed and Rudolph did not secure the throne; but he had the cession of Cis-Jurane Burgundy instead, so that from 933 onwards the two Burgundies were under a single sceptre. Rudolph died in 937; his son and successor, Conrad, was taken under the protection of the great German king, Otto I., who in 962 was crowned emperor in Rome and placed the Holy Roman Empire on a lasting basis as a European institution.

Otto's hands were very full indeed throughout his reign, and although he employed his influence to the uttermost to check the growth of undue power among the nobles, feudalism

was too strong for him. Allemannia was getting into the hands of a number of noble families, who were virtually independent when the duke and the emperor were not looking. When Conrad of Burgundy died in 993, and was succeeded by the feeble and priest-ridden Rudolph III., feudal sectionalism prevailed in that country even more than in Allemannia. The only effective local rivalry to the nobles was offered by the Church; and certain of the nobles, by becoming "protectors" of the monasteries, contrived to divert some share of ecclesiastical prosperity to their own advantage.

It may be helpful, in finding our way through this tangled period, to take a glance at Switzerland as it appeared in the year 1000—the year of dread when men awaited the sound of the last trumpet, and when, accordingly, there was a universal spasm of piety and much consequent accruing of power and profit to the Church. Supreme master, in name, of all the land was the Emperor Otto III., the young visionary whose dreams of imperial unity and splendour concealed from his eyes the actual tumult and disintegration of the realm. Of the land that is now Swiss, the region between the Jura and the Reuss belonged to the kingdom of Burgundy, whose ruler, Rudolph III., had no idea of checking the encroachments of the feudal nobles save that of handing himself and his realm over to the Church. The condition of the Valais, nominally a part of Burgundy, was characteristic. The Upper Valais was ruled by the Bishop of Sion with a despotism pronouncedly tempered by the determination of the nobles in the region to follow their own devices. In the Lower Valais the bishop exercised a similar sway, with the further hindrance some years later on that the powerful House of Savoy constituted itself protector of St Maurice. In Allemannia, to the east of the Reuss, the titular dukedom still existed, but the nobles, several families of whom had acquired predominance, did pretty much what they pleased—were highly exacting towards their feudal inferiors,

and as indifferent as circumstances would permit towards their feudal superiors. Here also, however, the Church, fostered by the emperors after the manner of Charlemagne, had asserted itself in the way of temporal power. In Upper Rhætia, which had formed part of the Allemannic dukedom since 916, the Bishop of Coire and the Abbot of Disentis held powers similar to those of their contemporaries in the Valais, with similar limitations.

And what, meanwhile, of the people? The bottom layer of the feudal series is the one that in the case of Switzerland matters most, and it is the one of which, at this age, we hear least. Records are plentiful enough of the great nobles, spiritual and temporal, and evidence exists, both in script and stone, of the manner of life led by the lesser nobles, their vassals. But no chroniclers of that day took much notice of the rank and file of the populace. Most of the folk in the bottom layer were in one stage or another of serfdom, and their lot varied according to the propensities of each particular lord. The Church's subjects had on the whole a better time than the subjects of the temporal lords; they had more continuity of tenure and a milder exercise of jurisdiction, and were less exposed to sheer plunder. Among the Burgundian country folk this state of serfdom was general—the Burgundians had forgotten the Germanic traditions and the Germanic language when they amalgamated with the Helvetians in the fifth century. But in Allemannia the traditions had survived, and the survival was of extraordinary importance.

In the Alps, and here and there in the Swiss lowlands, there existed throughout the feudal epoch small communities of men who were free from all feudal overlordship and owed allegiance only to the emperor himself and to his counts, without the intervention of lesser nobles. They were called the Empire's men, and justice was administered to them, in accordance with their own customs, by officials chosen with

their consent. Sometimes these groups of freemen lived with inferior tenants and serfs as knots of privileged folk; in other cases they inhabited villages by themselves. In any event they held on firmly to the old tribal usages; each man had his own plot of land, and there was common land for the whole community. Each year the freemen assembled together to settle their economic affairs and to take what measures they could for the guarding of their political interests. These assemblies came to be called the *Landsgemeinden*, and the head man of the community was known as the *Landammann*.

These bodies of freemen did not keep their liberties without effort. The times were hard and greedy; the protective Imperial power was mighty but remote. Many of the little communities, most of them indeed, lost their freedom. Some had it taken away, or yielded it under threats; others parted with it bit by bit, or in the lump, in exchange for protection from some neighbouring lord. Nowhere, not even in the forest districts around the Lake of Lucerne, were the Imperial freemen in a majority; although in the Alpine valleys, out of the way and more or less difficult of access, the freemen survived more vigorously than anywhere else. Nor is it to be supposed that all the unfree peasantry were in a state of entire subjection. Many were serfs in the absolute sense, but others held tenures of various degrees of advantage; the privileged tenants of the monasteries, for example, were not much worse off than the freemen themselves. But the Imperial freedom was a boon that was envied and hoped for by all who did not possess it; and it was due to the freemen that the old Teutonic tradition was kept alive which, in the fulness of time, gave birth to Swiss liberty.

In the towns, at the time we are considering, the process of emancipation was only in its feeble beginnings. The circumstance that a town was an administrative centre was no particular gain to the inhabitants. The castle had all the power

and most of the profits. But commerce and industry were all the while making hampered but persistent progress, and the funds were gradually being accumulated in civic hands that were afterwards to buy favours from the lord, or weapons wherewith to defy him. In the towns, as in the country, it was good fortune to be under ecclesiastical rule. Cities that were episcopal sees—Basel, Geneva, Lausanne—had a long start over their neighbours. Episcopal cities were administered on behalf of the bishops by temporal protectors; when the citizens were aggrieved they appealed diplomatically to the bishops, who—not averse in most cases to paring the protectors' claws—proved kindly mediators on the citizens' behalf. Towns under monastic jurisdiction, such as Zürich and Lucerne, were equally favoured. All such places had opportunities for gaining rights of tolls, markets, petty justice and minting coins that were not shared by the non-ecclesiastical towns, which gained their liberties by supporting their lord against rivals, or by helping him out of financial straits, or simply by showing that they were not frightened of him. But in all cases the process of emancipation was slow and liable to long and grievous interruption; the towns had their full share of the uncertainty and violence that marked the epoch.

At the back of men's minds, in all this time of confusion and adverse change, was a dim but steadfast faith in the power of the empire. Its authority was supreme, even when not made manifest; and behind that authority, so potent even in its temporal aspect, was the force of a divine sanction. The era of Swiss liberation, which we are now gradually approaching, was in its essence an era of gradual alienation from the empire. The day was to come when the imperial might, to which the peoples of Switzerland had so long looked for ultimate protection, was to become a sword in the hands of their enemies. Then certain of these peoples found a sword of their own, and the history of the Swiss nation began.

But from that time, in the year 1000, we are still three centuries distant. We are, indeed, on the verge of the years when the Holy Roman Empire was to exercise its strongest and most direct influence upon Swiss territory. It was in the reign of Conrad II. (1024-1039), the first of the Franconian emperors, that this assertion of the empire had its beginning. The weakling Rudolph III. of Burgundy had named Conrad's son Henry as his heir, and had even proposed to abdicate in Henry's favour. The Burgundian nobles interfered with this project; but on Rudolph's death in 1032 Conrad promptly entered the kingdom to take possession. Allemannia was already in his hands. Its Duke Ernest, Conrad's stepson, had put forward a claim to the reversion of the Burgundian throne which had had to be repelled in arms; Ernest was killed, and Allemannia came under immediate Imperial sway. Before Conrad had secured himself in Burgundy he had to meet further opposition; Count Eudes of Champagne seized a portion of the kingdom and was only expelled with great trouble. But in 1032 Conrad was safely crowned King of Burgundy at Payerne, and six years later he assigned the throne, as well as the dukedom of Allemannia, to his son Henry. In the following year Conrad died, and Henry succeeded him as emperor.

Burgundy and Allemannia were now joined under the direct rule of the head of the empire, who happened also to be a singularly resolute and capable monarch. The great feat of Henry III. was his assertion of the empire against the papacy, which fell as low during his reign as it rose high during that of his successor. What concerns us more immediately here is that he governed his Swiss dominions with firmness and wisdom, and kept down feudal ambitions with a rare and healthy energy. After his death in 1056, however, the Imperial sceptre came to the hands of a child, and direct administration of Burgundy and Allemannia had to cease. Henry's widow entrusted both kingdom and duchy to her favourite, Rudolph

of Rheinfelden, head of a family whose estates were on the left bank of the Rhine near Basel.

The empire never entirely recovered from the shocks of the following fifty years. The struggle with the papacy entered upon its most decisive and most dramatic stage, and the papal triumph could not but deprive the empire, wholly for a time and partially for all time, of the awe and confidence of its subjects. The young Henry IV. prepared the way for his evil fortune by harsh misgovernment and personal viciousness; when he faced the wrath of the great Pope Gregory he had already lost the goodwill of the Transalpine peoples. Gregory, by declaring that it was sinful for an ecclesiastic to receive his benefice by feudal investiture, demanded in effect that all the enormous lands held by bishops and abbots should be free from temporal control. This was the beginning of the events that led to Henry's excommunication and his abject submission at Canossa.

(*iv.*) *The Zäringer*

Not for long, however, did Henry bow to the wrath of Gregory. All the rest of his troubled life was spent in waging the struggle—in setting up rival popes, deposing rival emperors, and striving to reassert his authority over dominions in perpetual unrest. The dominions with which we are specially concerned had more than their share of disturbance. The first of the rival emperors was Rudolph of Rheinfelden, ruler of Burgundy and Allemannia, who made his claim in 1077, and was slain in battle three years later. War raged from end to end of the region he had governed. Burgundy, generally speaking, was for Henry, Allemannia—where the clergy held enormous estates and were, as a rule, better masters than the nobles—for the pope; but there was nothing like unanimity anywhere, and even some of the clerics, the monks of St Gall,

for example, were on Henry's side. This quarrel was the beginning of the break-up of the Burgundian kingdom. This perplexing realm is in nothing more perplexing than in its extinction. It went to pieces in a gradual miscellaneous way, and the pieces were picked up by anybody who was conveniently situated for laying hands on them. The house of Savoy and other great houses in the south laid hands on all they could. France took one fragment after another, and finally acquired all Burgundy that did not become Swiss. Other Burgundies will appear in the course of this history, but the Burgundian kingdom will not trouble us much longer.

Let us now hasten over its obsequies. On the death of Rudolph of Rheinfelden, his son-in-law and heir, Berchtold of Zäringen, from the Black Forest, asserted his claim to Burgundy and Allemannia; but the dukedom of Allemannia had already been given by Henry IV. to his son-in-law Frederick, of the house of Hohenstaufen. After long debate the matter was settled at Mainz in 1097. The issue has been represented as a success for both parties; it seems to have been in reality a compromise, for while the Hohenstaufens secured all Suabia or Allemannia north of the Rhine, the Zäringer were endowed with the Imperial fief of Zürich. The Rhine thus became the boundary between the German Allemannia and the Allemannia that was to be Swiss.

In 1127 the power of the Zäringen family was further enhanced by the appointment of its head by the emperor Lothair II. as "Rector," or regent of Burgundy. The sway of the empire and of its representatives, the Zäringer, over Burgundy west and south-west of the Jura was purely nominal. The portion immediately west—the Pontarlier region—was occupied by a virtually independent Burgundian noble and was known in later history as the Franche Comté. The main object of the Zäringer was not to subdue the nobles beyond the Jura so much as to keep them out. The region actually under

Zäringen jurisdiction was the lesser duchy (Burgundia Minor), which included Switzerland west of the Reuss, with the Valais. As an enclave within the lesser duchy was yet another Burgundy—the Burgundian Margraviate—which extended from Thun to Solothurn. The worst of these Burgundian complications is that they are only made obscure by attempts to explain them. The essential thing is that the Zäringer had authority over Western Switzerland as regents of Burgundy, and over Eastern Switzerland as counts of the Zürichgau and heirs of the property of Rudolph of Rheinfelden.

The area under the rule of the Zäringer thus corresponded, roughly, with modern Switzerland north of the main Alpine chain. In the outlying portions the rule was not very effective. In Upper Rhætia the real potentate was the Bishop of Coire; in the Valais the Bishop of Sion was as independent as the constantly-encroaching lords of Savoy would allow him to be. But over the rest of the country the authority of the Zäringer was exercised with vigour. The feudal nobles were placed under unaccustomed restraint, invaders were warned off, and the land for the most part was peaceful and prosperous.

The main development of the Zäringen epoch was that of the towns. We have already seen how the citizen element had gradually and timorously taken steps to assert itself. During the eleventh century it grew bolder; it began to try its strength against bishops and nobles, and found that it could hold its own. By the end of the century there were quite a number of towns in Southern and Western Germany that had enriched themselves with trade, had made terms with the nobility, and had shown their ability to insist that the terms should be kept. The emperors, ever on the watch for means of counterbalancing the force of the feudal lords, wisely made the towns their allies. Hence in the twelfth century arose the free Imperial cities—towns owning no external

jurisdiction save that of the empire, acting, so to speak, as outposts of the empire in the feudal wilderness. Under Imperial auspices the form of guild-government that had been growing up with a good deal of uniformity in the towns—government by a limited body of qualified citizens—took a definite mould. These cities, it should be remembered, owed their freedom to the empire, and were imperial by tradition and in loyalty. The circumstance has an important bearing on the later history of Switzerland.

The great liberator of the cities was the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), the splendid warrior and administrator whom the Germans have made their national hero, and who still—so the tradition runs—lies with his knights in an enchanted sleep in a cavern of the Untersberg, to awaken in the hour of Germany's deadly peril. Frederick had some friction with the Zäringer at the outset of his reign; but the trouble was brief, and Berchtold IV. of Zäringen, and his son, Berchtold V., were excellent Imperial lieutenants. The most notable thing about both of them is that they shared Barbarossa's enthusiasm for cities. They held very soundly that well-fortified and self-reliant towns were the best protection against feudal incursions from without and feudal disturbances within; and since the existing towns were few and not ideally placed for defence, the Zäringer created new ones. Berchtold IV. cast an approving eye upon an area of high ground that rises finely above a loop of the River Saane, where it flows to the east of Lake Neuchâtel. The site is surrounded on three sides by the river, and is thus well adapted for defence; it overlooks a rich and smiling country, with the great wall of the Jura to the west and the snowy girdle of the Alps far away to east and south. Here Berchtold reared a castle for himself —the Town Hall stands upon its site to-day—and surrounded the castle in 1178 with a fortified town, possessing all the liberties and privileges with which he had endowed Freiburg,

his free city in his Black Forest possessions. Thus arose Freiburg, the Swiss city.

Still greater than his father as a city-founder was Berchtold V., who succeeded in 1186. Early in his term of rule he had a sharp reminder of the urgency of protective measures. He proposed to accompany Barbarossa on a Crusade; he actually set out upon the journey. But as soon as his back was turned the feudal nobles, who had been wearily waiting their opportunity, broke out in revolt. Berchtold hastened back, vanquished them near Avenches, penetrated into the Grindelwald valley and crushed them there, and then looked about for the site of a stronghold that would dominate the whole region, highland and lowland. On the Aar, some twenty miles from the point where the river issues from the Lake of Thun, was a position similar to that of Freiburg, but on a grander scale. A towering plateau with rocky flanks was almost encircled by the river, rushing in a fierce current through a gorge below. The prospect from the plateau is renowned to-day and will be renowned for all time; in all the world there is no more perfect and noble view of distant mountains. The giants of the Bernese Oberland rear themselves mystically in their white immensity behind the bright champaign and wooded hills of the foreground, like the weird barriers of another world. Upon this plateau, and in face of this prospect, was reared in 1191 the city of Bern, the destined mistress of mountains and plain, youngest and haughtiest of the famous towns of the Swiss.

The name Bern is the German version of Verona, and it has been suggested that Berchtold gave his new city its title in honour of the Emperor Theodoric—Theodoric of Verona, Dietrich von Bern. But the view has been gaining ground that the real origin of the name is the most obvious one, and that Bern is "Bären" or bears. Bern's association with Bruin dates practically from the foundation. A bear appeared on the

city's crest as far back as 1224, and the famous bear-pit, where the animals are entertained at the public expense, dates from 1513. The Bernese district had wild bears among its fauna up to quite recent times. The last bear was slain in the Oberland in 1819, and the tale is still remembered of a mighty bear that dwelt near the Little Scheidegg, plundered both the Grindelwald and the Lauterbrunnen hillsides, and was ultimately overcome in 1792 by the herculean valour of a peasant named Kaufmann, who struck him down with a clubbed musket after the contents of three other muskets had been emptied into him without apparent effect.

The Zäringer founded several other towns, and gave fortifications and privileges to towns already existing. Moudon, Yverdon, Laupen, Morat and Thun have all memories of this famous family. But Bern was the most successful foundation of all. She grew to adult strength in an extraordinarily short time after her birth. Many of her early citizens were recruited direct from the nobility; this happened in the case of all towns, but especially in that of Bern. Small nobles were frequently being dispossessed by greater nobles, or were for one reason or another in low water, and they came to the towns to restore their fortunes. Bern, which had the privilege of being an Imperial city from the outset—the land on which she was built was Imperial property—had particular attraction for homeless or out-of-pocket noblemen, and their presence there partly accounts for the later oligarchical tendencies of Bernese government.

(*v.*) *Peter of Savoy*

By his foundation of Bern Berchtold V. became in history the greatest of the Zäringer. He was also the last of them, and before he died he had the misfortune to come into collision with a power stronger than himself. The Counts of Savoy

had already possessed themselves of the Lower Valais and seized the Castle of Chillon, the renowned lake-stronghold, the picture of which, with the pinnacled Dent du Midi in the background, is the most familiar of all Swiss views. In 1211 they raided the Vaud country and annexed it as far as Moudon and Romont. Berchtold marched across the Grimsel to take them in flank; but he was defeated at Ulrichen near the Rhone glacier, and the chagrined old man retired to the family seat at Zäringen in the Black Forest, where he died in 1218, leaving no heir. The possibility of a monarchical Swiss state thus vanished for all time.

The powers exerted by the Zäringer lapsed to the empire which had bestowed them; the estates of the family were inherited, through the marriage of Berchtold's sister, by the house of Kyburg, whose castle stood, and still stands, a few miles from Winterthur. The empire was then in no condition to assert its supremacy. Its ruler, Frederick II., grandson of the great Barbarossa, was a man of imagination, who grasped the old battered ideal of the sanctified universal empire, and a man of action, who strove to restore the ideal against papal opposition. But he was not great enough for the task; it was, indeed, an impossible task. He was, besides, essentially an Italian in his ambitions and character, and the Transalpine regions of the empire were left very much to their own devices. While the Ghibellines, or emperor's men, warred under their ruler's auspices in Italy against the Guelphs or pope's men, their conflicts were vigorously imitated in the North. The pope deliberately encouraged the sectionalism of the nobles with the aim of weakening the empire, and the result, in Switzerland as elsewhere, was a revival of feudal pandemonium.

It was not quite the same pandemonium, however, as of old. There were participants in it who had only appeared formerly as sufferers. The towns entered into the mêlée, not

only as individuals but in leagues. Zürich, Basel and Bern joined the league of the Rhine, the South German equivalent of the great Hanseatic League. A more strictly local confederation was that of Bern, Freiburg, Morat, Lucerne and other towns, on behalf of the emperor, against the Kyburgs, who were of the Guelph persuasion. These cities described themselves as *Eidgenossen*—the first appearance of a word that was to be famous in their country's history. The Emperor Frederic, when he did turn his attention to Transalpine affairs, fully recognized the value of the support the cities were giving him, and emancipated them right and left.

The Kyburg family, which prevailed in North Switzerland until its power and estates passed to a mightier line, were average feudal noblemen of no great distinction. It was wholly otherwise with the house of Savoy, whom we have seen encroaching steadily upon the Valais and Vaud. In Peter of Savoy, who became Count of Savoy in 1263 and exercised a prevailing influence in Western Switzerland long before then, the family produced one of the most notable men of the thirteenth century. Peter of Savoy, sixth son of the Count Thomas who had opposed Berchtold of Zäringen, impressed himself on the history of several European lands; among others, on that of England. His niece was the consort of Henry III., and Peter and two other uncles were extremely unpopular favourites of an unpopular king. Peter did very well out of England; he gained high office and enormous wealth, of which the Savoy Palace in London was a token, and the English barons and people hated him like the plague.

But if we turn to the records of the Vaud country we get a different impression of this really eminent soldier and statesman. Vaud, an old county of Charlemagne, had formed part of Burgundy, and at the time of the incursions of the Counts of Savoy still belonged nominally to the empire. During the rule of Peter's brother, Count Amadeus IV. (1233-

1253), the overlordship of Vaud was in dispute between the house of Savoy and the Bishop of Lausanne, who threw off the protectorship of the Counts of Geneva, declared that his only protector was the Mother of God, and set up as a temporal potentate. Neither the count nor the bishop could prevail, and Vaud was in a state of chaos. The great lords and the lesser lords fought furiously among themselves, but united in resistance to any higher authority.

At length Peter appeared on the scene. He held the lands to the south of Lake Leman, and had thus excellent opportunities for intervention. The chance came with a disputed election to the See of Lausanne. By a judicious mixture of diplomacy and force Peter got the upper hand in the temporal rule of Vaud, subdued its disorders, and won the goodwill of its people. He granted charters to the towns—in return for a consideration, of course; Moudon, especially, benefited by his concessions. To all the Vaudois in town and country he gave the valued boon of regulating their own local judicial affairs. All the Swiss peoples had in common an abhorrence of outside interference with the course of justice. Peter's high reputation among the people is revealed by his relations with Bern. The Bernese wished to build a bridge across the Aar and the Kyburgs objected. Bern placed itself under Peter's protection, and the bridge was built. In 1263 Peter succeeded his nephew Boniface as Count of Savoy. In the five years of his countship he was called upon to hold his own against the greatest of the dynasties that held sway on Swiss territory—and the last.

(*vi.*) *The Habsburgs*

Near to Brugg, in Aargau, at the junction of the Aar and the Reuss—almost on the site of the Roman Vindonissa—a ruined keep stands on a hill-top, close by a farm-house built

out of the stronghold's débris. The hill is called the Wülpelsberg, and the ruin is the ancestral seat of the Imperial family of the Habsburgs. The family has been for more than six centuries, and is to-day, among the greatest of the great. Its dominions in this twentieth century are vast and its armies renowned. There was a time when it owned or claimed most of the known Western world. But it could not keep its own home. The castle of Habsburg stands at this day a broken ruin on the soil of an ultra-democratic Republic. History is full of ironies, but not many are stranger than this.

The castle of Habsburg was built about the year 1020—according to the legend by a member of the family who lost his falcon when hunting and found it on the Wülpelsberg. Impressed by the fair prospect of lowlands and distant Alps, he decided to build a castle there, and called it Habichtsburg, or falcon's castle. The truth seems to be that the stronghold was reared by a Habsburg who was Bishop of Strassburg. There is a doubt as to whether the Habsburgs belonged originally to the Aargau or came from Alsace; anyhow, they were not very important people in 1020. But the accumulative instincts of the family were not lacking even in these days. Their lands gradually increased, and a fortunate marriage—the first of very many—brought to Count Albert the wide territories of the Lenzburg family in Alsace, Aargau, Unterwalden and Lucerne. Albert's two grandsons divided the family possessions. Albert, the senior of the two, ruled the Aargau and part of the Zürichgau; Rudolph, head of the cadet or Laufenburg branch, held the lands near the Lake of Lucerne. As we shall see in the next chapter, Rudolph had some trouble with certain obscure and contumacious folk in the Alpine valleys near Lucerne.

To Albert the senior succeeded in 1239 another and a more famous Rudolph—the great Rudolph of Habsburg. At the time of his accession the struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines

was at its hottest, and Rudolph was almost the only considerable Swiss noble who supported the emperor. Even his own relatives, the Habsburg-Laufenburgs, were for the pope. But Rudolph adhered to the emperor in spite of isolation and papal wrath. In 1254 he was personally excommunicated because of his exploit in attacking and burning a convent at Basel, but that failed to annoy him. He was naturally a *persona grata* with the Imperial cities, and especially won the goodwill of Zürich by wiping out certain bandit nobles who afflicted the country from a castle on the Uetliberg. Rudolph, the tradition runs, rode up to the castle with an apparently small force, and the brigands sallied out confidently to meet him. They discovered that each of Rudolph's horses carried two men; they were outnumbered and subdued.

In 1264 Rudolph brought off one of his great *coups* of acquisition. His father, with the usual Habsburg intelligence, had married a lady of the Kyburg family. Hartmann the Elder, head of the Kyburgs, died in 1264; Rudolph straightway appropriated the whole of the vast Kyburg estates, with a cool disregard of the claims of Hartmann's widow. Rudolph's greed in this case overcame his judiciousness; for Hartmann's widow was a sister of Peter of Savoy, and there was certain to be trouble. Rudolph took a strong line, however. Ignoring a sharp message from the pope, to whom the widow had appealed in her difficulty, he marched straight against the indignant Peter. It is said, probably untruly, that he invested the Castle of Chillon, which Peter had rebuilt and made into the superb fortress that stands to this day, and that Peter took him by surprise and drove him off with heavy loss. Whether this conflict occurred or not, Rudolph certainly did not prevail over Peter. He made peace in 1267, and satisfied the widow's claims—retaining, however, a very handsome share of the Kyburg inheritance for himself. The citizens of Bern did such fine service in arms for Peter in this

campaign that he offered them any boon they liked to ask. They asked for freedom from his protectorship; he granted the boon, and Bern became a free city.

Nevertheless it was the Habsburg star rather than that of Savoy which was in the ascendant. Peter, " the little Charlemagne," as his contemporaries called him, died in 1268, and the counts who succeeded him were less able to assert themselves in the Vaud and Valais country. The Bishops of Sion, Lausanne and Geneva all claimed temporal jurisdiction over part of the land; Freiburg stood for the Habsburgs; Bern stood for itself. Rudolph, by now, was Count of the Aargau, the Zürichgau, and the Thurgau, and lord of nearly all the lands in Northern Switzerland that did not belong to the cadet branch of his house. In 1273 the cadet branch, being in financial difficulties, sold him the lands and rights in the forest districts near Lucerne—districts of which we shall hear a great deal more.

The year 1273 was an eventful one for Rudolph. He was engaged as usual in acquiring new property. He had further obliged the Zürich people by suppressing the nobles of the Toggenburg and the Regensberg families. These were brigands who carried on a lucrative practice on the main road from Zürich via Coire to Italy. The Regensbergs, moreover, had the audacity to claim a portion of the Kyburg estates. Having suppressed these evil-doers, Rudolph proceeded to seize the estate of Rheinfelden, the possession of which, and of the estate of Brissach, he disputed with the Bishop of Basel. In 1273 he laid siege to Basel itself, and the town was on the point of surrendering when the news came that this wily, acquisitive, imperturbable man had been elected King of Germany and ruler of the empire. The delighted Rudolph, on hearing that he had attained the height of his ambition, made peace with the Bishop of Basel, and acknowledged that ecclesiastic's rights over Brissach and Rheinfelden. It is the only recorded instance in which the first of the royal Habsburgs ever willingly gave anything away.

The destiny of Swiss territory—or at any rate of the German-speaking portion of it—now seemed assured. The greatest of the local magnates had become King of Germany, and the country's fate, it might have appeared, would have been to become an integral part of the German dominions. But the masters of the future were not to be sought in royal courts or episcopal palaces; to find them we must go to the quiet, deep valleys and the lonely pastures beneath the snows.

In a phrase, the election of Rudolph of Habsburg to the kingship brings the long Imperial and feudal prologue to an end and ushers in the heroic age of Swiss history.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Burgundian Tower at Solothurn.

Haus zum Loch (traditional site of Charlemagne's residence) at Zürich.

Abbeys of St Gall, Disentis, Reichenau (Lake of Constance) and St Maurice.

Refuge Tower at Moudon.

Great St Bernard Monastery (founded 962).

Romanesque Architecture (leading examples):—

Zürich Minster (part).

Basel Minster (part).

Coire Minster (part).

Abbeys of Payerne and Romainmôtier.

Churches of Saint-Sulpice (near Lausanne), Saint-Pierre-de-Clages (Valais), Ruggisberg (near Thun) and All Saints at Schaffhausen.

Freiburg.

Bern—statue of Berchtold V. of Zäringen, the founder.

Zäringen-Kyburg Castle at Thun.

Frau-Münster Kirche at Zürich.

Sion (churches and castles).

Castle of Chillon.

Habsburg Castle near Brugg.

Kyburg Castle near Winterthur.

(Many other ruined castles in Switzerland belong to this period.)

CHAPTER IV

THE EVERLASTING LEAGUE

(*i.*) *William Tell*

THE Lake of Lucerne, as it is generally called in English—its proper and more expressive name is the Lake of the Four Forest States—has a magic of natural beauty that would have drawn travellers from all the wide world to its shores even if its glories of aspect had not been hallowed by noble historic traditions. The wondrous lake has indeed, in our own day, paid a heavy penalty for its fame. The tourists of every country have descended upon it in their hosts, and the natives have done all in their power to adapt the environment to what they deem to be the requirements of visitors. But the Alpine region is moulded on too massive a scale to be readily spoilt by excrescences of human origin; and in despite of all the hotels and pensions and restaurants, all the railways and steamers and dirigibles, the lake remains to this day a splendid sheet of water splendidly surrounded. Nature and history seldom bestow their united favours on the same spot; but they have joined in giving lustre to this doubly-renowned Lake of Lucerne.

The heroic age of Switzerland began by these waters, and the first thing that has to be done, unfortunately, on approaching this age, is to inquire into the authenticity of the tale regarding its chief hero. The misfortune of this lies in the circumstance that no proof is available that the hero ever

existed. Over all the Lucerne region visible homage is still paid to the memory of William Tell, the reputed founder of Swiss liberties. The story of his deeds is known throughout the world; it has stirred hopefulness and enthusiasm among far-off peoples who have striven for their freedom, it has given inspiration to undying verse. But for all that it is, so far as the most minute and sympathetic investigation can determine, a legend and nothing more.

There are two narratives of the events that led to the founding of the Swiss Confederation. One of them is specific in names, dates and details, although varying somewhat in different versions; it is glowingly romantic in tenor, thrilling in its episodes, and without any definite historical evidence whatever to support it. The other is far less romantic, although impressive in its grand simplicity; it is dim now and then, and there are long gaps in it, but all that there is of it is absolutely authentic. It is history, and the other is legend. But the legend has played such a part in history that it must needs be told here, and at some length.

The name of William Tell is not mentioned in any surviving document of earlier date than 1470, or more than 150 years after the occurrence of the events in which he is supposed to have taken part. About that time a ballad appeared in which reference is made to his feat in slaying an oppressor of his country. Very soon afterwards the whole Tell story in the shape that is now most familiar, along with the story of the oath on the Rütli that was the reputed foundation of the union of the Forest Cantons, was told, and very well told, in the *White Book of Sarnen*, which was accepted for three centuries and more as the authentic account of the beginnings of Swiss freedom. The story was elaborated in various ways. The men of Uri were inclined to magnify Tell's share in the founding of the Confederation, and in some of their versions he appears as his canton's representative at the Rütli gathering. In the

sixteenth century the historian Tschudi elaborated the story and supplied its deficiencies in names and dates. Johannes von Müller, in his *History of the Confederation* (1780), gave to the tale its final and definite form, and it was in this form that the genius of Schiller presented it permanently to the world.

According to the story, the three cantons of Schwyz, Unterwalden and Uri were in the year 1307 all groaning under Austrian oppression. Albert of Habsburg, who had succeeded his father Rudolph as Duke of Austria, and had after a struggle secured possession of the Imperial throne, governed the Forest districts through the agency of bailiffs, who were exceedingly tyrannous persons. Gessler ruled Schwyz and Uri with an iron hand; Landenberg, the governor of Unterwalden, was no better than Gessler. Landenberg, it is narrated, heard that a dweller in the Melchthal possessed an excellent team of oxen; he coveted it and sent a servant to confiscate it, and to tell the owner that the peasantry could harness themselves to their ploughs. The owner's son, young Arnold of the Melchthal, burst into fury at the outrage; he attacked the servant, wounded him, and then, fearing the wrath of the bailiff, fled to the mountains. When Landenberg heard the news he put out the father's eyes and seized all his possessions.

Meanwhile there was dwelling at Steinen, in Schwyz, a prosperous man named Stauffacher, who had built himself a substantial house of stone. Gessler happened to pass that way; he eyed the house greedily, and called Stauffacher to his side. "To whom does this fine house belong?" he asked. "My noble lord," answered Stauffacher, "it is yours, and I hold it in fief from you." Gessler said nothing and rode on. Stauffacher was desperately anxious; he looked forward to imprisonment and seizure of his house and goods. His wife, noting his disquietude, advised him to take counsel with young Arnold of the Melchthal, now lying concealed, and with Walther Fürst of Uri. So that the idea of the union of the

Forest cantons originated, the story tells us, in a woman's brain.

A secret meeting was arranged to take place at the Rütli or Grütli, a quiet meadow among the woods on the west side of the Lake of Uri, near the point where it debouches into the main lake. Rütli or Grütli denotes a clearing made by fire—the primitive method of transforming forest into pastoral or agricultural land. Here, on the night of 7th November 1307, it is related that Stauffacher, Fürst and Arnold of the Melchthal assembled with thirty other men of the three cantons, and swore a great oath to stand by each other in resistance to the oppressors. On the spots where the three leaders stood when they took the oath, the tradition goes, three clear springs arose from the soil; and there are the springs to this day.

Gessler was a fantastic as well as a merciless tyrant, and one of his freaks at this time was to place his cap on a pole at a place "under the lime trees of Uri"—generally taken to be Altdorf—and demand that all who passed by should do homage to it. Among the passers-by was a certain Thall, or Tell, a native of Bürglen up above Altdorf, and one of the thirty-three men of the Rütli. Tell went on his way without saluting the cap, and was summoned to the tyrant's presence. He explained that he did not know that any importance was attached to the homage. "If I had any sense," he said, "I would not be called Thall (the simpleton)." Tell was carrying his crossbow, and his little son was by his side. The tyrant took an apple, placed it on the child's head, and ordered Tell to stand at a distance and shoot it off. Tell had no choice, and was renowned as a marksman; he muttered a prayer, stiffened his nerves and shot. The apple, truly hit, fell to the ground, and the boy was unhurt.

Gessler noted that Tell had kept a second arrow concealed beneath his cloak. What, he asked, was its purpose? Tell refused to answer. Gessler promised him his life if he would

Altdorf

speak, and Tell replied, "If my son had been struck then the second arrow would have been aimed at you." "I have promised you your life," retorted the angry bailiff, "but you shall lie in a place where you shall never see sun or moon again."

So Tell was seized and carried down to the lake, where he was placed, crossbow and all, on a boat, which was boarded also by Gessler himself. They had only passed a little way down the lake when there arose one of the squalls for which these waters are famous. The terrified boatmen begged Gessler to untie the bonds of Tell, "for he is a strong man and knows right well how to steer," and Gessler, in fear of his life, consented. Tell guided the boat masterfully towards the shore; and as he neared a ledge of rock at the base of the Axenberg, he seized his crossbow, leapt ashore, and vanished. But he was not yet done with Gessler. He hastened through Schwyz to Küssnacht, which he knew to be the tyrant's destination. About a mile and a quarter short of the town the road passes through a hollow. Here Tell lay in wait for Gessler, and as the tyrant entered the defile an arrow sped straight to his breast. "That was Tell's shaft," gasped Gessler, and expired.

"Freedom hath none but one red star—tyrannicide." The star of Swinburne's much-censured line had risen, according to the Tell story, to some purpose. The men of the three cantons flew to arms; the minions of Austria were driven from the land, the castles of the feudal nobility were attacked and overthrown, and the Forest district became for all time a land of freemen.

This, with sundry later variations, was the account of the emancipation of the Forest cantons that was generally accepted from the later fifteenth century until the early nineteenth. The first suspicion of its truth occurred to a Swiss named Guilliman in 1607, but he and a few later sceptics kept their

doubts to themselves. Freudenberg of Bern, however, was of bolder disposition. He ascertained that an almost exact counterpart of Tell's shooting feat was recorded of a mythical Danish hero called Tokko, and in 1760 he published a pamphlet declaring that the Tell story was a fable imported from another land. His pamphlet was publicly burnt by the government of Uri; but the new method of historical criticism was not checked, and the historian Kopp, of Lucerne, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, raised insuperable obstacles to the acceptance of the old story as definite fact.

Kopp and his school ransacked the cantonal archives and the old castles for documents, which they patiently examined and interpreted. They explored the legendary lore of other countries, and found that Tokko was not Tell's only counterpart. The apple-shooting feat was also attributed to Eigil of Iceland, to William of Cloudsley in England, and to other heroes in the Rhine country, and even in Asia. The records of the Gessler family were explored, and no indication was found that any Gessler was an Austrian bailiff or a tyrant of any sort; they seem to have been quite respectable people. It was shown, further, that no Austrian bailiff could have had his headquarters at Küssnacht, for Küssnacht was throughout the period in question the seat of a family of minor nobles. The family, it is true, was unpopular, and it is possible that the assassination of a member of it gave rise to the Tell legend. Various alleged fourteenth-century documents testifying to the existence of Tell were proved to be forgeries; a decree of the Landsgemeinde of Uri, for example, dated Sunday, 7th May 1387, ordering a pilgrimage to William Tell's birthplace at Bürglen, was very simply exploded by a demonstration that 7th May in that year fell not on a Sunday but on a Tuesday, and that the Landammann who signed the decree was not then Landammann of Uri. As for the three chapels erected in Tell's memory—at Tell's Platte, where he leapt

ashore, at Bürglen, where he was born, and at Küssnacht, where he slew the tyrant—it was shown that none of these chapels were built until after 1500, when the story in the *White Book of Sarnen* had gained currency.

The narrative of the oath on the Rütli and the subsequent rising has fared somewhat less hardly at the hands of the critics. All the dates and many of the names were proved to be wrong; but since the dates and names were largely introduced by Tschudi for purposes of "artistic verisimilitude," and without any authority whatsoever, this did not upset the original story. It will be seen presently, when we come to the real history of the Confederation's origin, that the account given in the *White Book of Sarnen*, with allowances for anomalies and anachronisms, quite plausibly fills up an awkward gap in the early chronicles of the Forest communities. There is no certainty about the matter at all; but it may at any rate be said that the meeting on the Rütli may have taken place—in fact, is more likely than not to have taken place.

But the Tell part of the story has been assailed with doubts that almost, if not quite, amount to absolute disproof. When it is put down that a man who may or may not have been called Tell *may*, some time in the thirteenth century, have slain an oppressive bailiff or noble, we have all that is left, in a historic sense, of the renowned romance. It would not be accurate to say that the legend has died hard, for it is not dead yet. Belief in it is still an article of faith among many of the Swiss. As late as 1895 a fine statue of the hero and his little son was unveiled at Altdorf; and on that occasion the erudite Herr Gisler of Coire published a defence of the legend, in which he boldly summoned the critics to prove that Tell never existed. The obvious reply is that Herr Gisler turns the proof the wrong way round—that it is for him and his supporters to prove that Tell did exist.

Nevertheless, the adherence of the Swiss people to the

legend is both natural and honourable. The history of Switzerland is full of heroism, but not of individual heroes. Except Arnold von Winkelried, who flashed into fame in one superb moment of sacrifice, there is no outstanding heroic figure—except Tell. The archer of Bürglen has filled in Switzerland the place that free countries love to assign to the leaders of their efforts for freedom; he has ranked in Swiss eyes with Wallace, Glyndwr, William the Silent, Washington, Garibaldi. "The Tell tradition," says Herr Gisler, "is an incomparable symbol of love of liberty and of the vigour of our democracy"; and the words are true whether the tradition is well founded or unfounded. The tale is one of the great tales of the world, and the hero of it has the blend of simplicity, independence and manly skill that forms the heroic ideal of Europe, and above all of Teutonic Europe. Belief in the tale has given to Switzerland a clear call to patriotism and a strong impulse to unity; it has helped, and greatly helped, to make Switzerland. Whether Tell existed or not in the flesh, he has a spiritual and immortal existence in the history and the mind of his nation.

(*ii.*) *The Pact of* 1291

Let us now turn to the history of the emancipation of the three cantons as it is actually known to have occurred. It is necessary, first of all, to see precisely where these cantons are, and what was their condition before they took, severally and jointly, to nation-making.

The lake of the four Forest cantons, which lies, roughly speaking, on the line that divides Alpine from Lowland Switzerland, is as irregularly-shaped a sheet of water as one will find anywhere. Its main trend is from east to west, with narrows and a rather abrupt bend in the middle; but it has several very strongly-defined bays or inlets, of which the most pro-

nounced is that which is thrust due south from the eastern extremity of the lake. This inlet is called the Lake of Uri, and receives at its southern end the waters of the Reuss that descend from the St Gotthard region. The lands about the head of the inlet, and up the narrow valley of the Reuss and its tributary valleys, form the canton of Uri.

In the thirteenth century the upper end of the Reuss Valley belonged to the Abbey of Disentis, and was thus an outlier of Rhætia. The lower part, with which we are now concerned, belonged chiefly to the convent of Felix and Regula at Zürich, founded in the tenth century by Lewis the German on his daughter's behalf. The religious houses of Wettingen and Beromunster had also property in the valley; so had several noble families, prominent among them the family of Attingshausen, which was to take an honourable part in the coming struggle. The tenants of the convent of Zürich were especially fortunate in their conditions. They could buy or sell their lands as they wished, and could regulate their affairs in assembly. As tenants of a monastery under Imperial protection they had the privilege of the *Reichsfreiheit*—freedom from all jurisdiction save that of the empire itself. They were, in fact, almost as well placed as the groups of freemen who were scattered about the district, and who were congregated especially in the Schächenthal, that comes down from the Tödi group of mountains to Altdorf.

A quite unique characteristic of Uri in the early thirteenth century was that the *Allmend* or common land—the forests and pastures—was shared by the whole community. Nobles, ecclesiastics, freemen, vassals and serfs all had their rights in regard to it, and all had a voice in the assemblies that regulated its management. The men of Uri were further helped to become a happy family by the extension of the *Reichsfreiheit* to the whole population. The double jurisdiction—that of the empire, and that of the counts of the Zürichgau—was found to

be inconvenient, so uniformity was established by making Uri Imperial soil from end to end. Uri was thus the first Swiss area to assume the form of a canton. The protectorship of the district belonged first to the Lenzburg family, then to the Zäringer; then it passed, like most other positions of honour and profit, to the Habsburgs.

Around the eastern end of the Lake of the Four Cantons lies the land of Schwyz, which stretches northwards across a watershed to the Lake of Zürich. The name Schwyz, or Suittes, from which the national title is derived, originally applied only to the Muotta Valley and the lands on the lake shore near the Muotta's mouth. The inhabitants were mostly freemen, who rigorously maintained their customs and privileges. Some of the land in the Muotta Valley, and most of the land to the north and west, was held by religious houses; the chief landowner of these was the Abbey of Einsiedeln, founded on the banks of the River Alpbach in the ninth century in honour of a wonder-working image of the Virgin. Multitudes of pilgrims still visit the shrine in September of each year and drink the waters that come from the great black marble fountain standing in front of the abbey. The place has been rebuilt at least six times and bears very little trace of its thirteenth-century aspect.

There was a chronic dispute between the freemen of Schwyz and the monks of Einsiedeln over pasture-lands. The freemen were continually trespassing over the watershed and occupying lands belonging to the monastery; they were repelled more than once by Imperial order, but since the monks did not attempt to make use of the lands they claimed, the freemen always came back. At length, in 1213, the monastery asked its protector, the Count of Rapperschwyl, to turn them out. After three years' hard fighting the parties invited the Count of Habsburg to mediate in the dispute. Afterwards there was peace for a time, but the old ill-feeling survived. The inheritance of the territory of Schwyz by the cadet or Laufenburg

branch of the Habsburgs was a serious matter for the freemen. They succeeded in obtaining the *Reichsfreiheit* in 1240, but the Habsburgs had scanty regard either for their ancient liberties or for their new privileges.

The southern shore of the lake belongs to the canton of Unterwalden. This canton is divided into two by the range of mountains that stretches down from the Titlis to the Stanserhorn, and the division survives to this day. Unterwalden consists of two half-cantons—Obwalden, to the west of the range, and Nidwalden, to the east of it. Although Unterwalden comes into touch with the snows at Engelberg it is less characteristically a mountain canton, and more characteristically a forest canton, than the other two. Its beauties are milder and richer, although often set off by a contrast of sternness. In the early thirteenth century there seems to have been no relationship between the two parts of the canton, although the political conditions of both were alike. These conditions were inferior to these that prevailed in Schwyz and Uri. There were a few freemen here and there; but most of the land was held on the usual feudal terms by nobles and monasteries, and although some of the monastic tenants had privileges, these were as nothing compared with the privileges of the tenants of Uri. Among the chief landholders were the Abbey of Engelberg, founded in 1121, and the Abbey of Murbach in Alsace, the overlord of the town of Lucerne, which prospered considerably under this distant and not very energetic rule.

This is how matters stood in the Forest regions during the early years of the thirteenth century. The middle years of that century were a time of considerable disturbance, during which events occurred that had a notable bearing on Switzerland's future. Unfortunately our knowledge of these events is very limited indeed, and the only way of determining the truth is by reasoning based on slender premises. The time

was one of hot conflict between empire and papacy. The Habsburg-Laufenburgs, who came into possession of the lands around the Lake of Lucerne, were for the pope; the inhabitants of the forest region were mostly for the emperor. The few surviving records of the time show this quite plainly. In 1231 the men of Uri appealed to the regent of Germany, Henry, son of Frederick II.—Frederick was himself fighting in Italy—for a confirmation of their liberties and privileges, and Henry readily granted it. The men of Uri chose their time astutely; the St Gotthard Pass was just becoming the great route across the Alps that it has since remained, Uri commanded the route for some distance, and Uri's friendship was of material concern to the emperor and his deputy. Another significant record is a papal bull, dated 28th August 1247, excommunicating the men of Schwyz for rebelling against their count. Finally, there is evidence that Unterwalden, or at any rate the Nidwalden half of it, was beginning to bestir itself. The text survives of a letter written to the council of Zürich by various nobles, notables, clergy and freemen of Nidwalden—among the nobles appears the honoured name of Winkelried—wishing the Zürich people success against their enemies. These enemies, we know, were the adherents of the pope.

The trouble in the middle thirteenth century was, therefore, in its essence an empire and papacy trouble. But the Habsburg-Laufenburgs were not only Guelph in their sympathies, they had apparently very little regard for the ancient liberties of the Forest regions. The freemen of Schwyz were directly threatened; Uri was alarmed and anxious; Unterwalden began to hope for the privileges possessed by the neighbouring districts, and began, also, to fear that under the Laufenburgs its last state would be worse than its first. It is to this time, consequently, that historians are most inclined to assign the first compact between the three cantons—or rather between Uri, Schwyz and the Nidwalden half of Unterwalden. That

such a compact was concluded is placed beyond all doubt by the terms of the pact of 1291, the parties to which describe themselves as "renewing by this present act the old Confederation." It is quite probable that this original compact took the form of a secret oath, and the Rütli, a secluded spot conveniently placed for all three cantons, might very well have been chosen for the rendezvous. So that the *White Book of Sarnen* does seem to provide an explanation where history provides none.

The *White Book* would seem also to be quite right about the subsequent fighting. It has just been stated that the men of Schwyz were excommunicated for rebellion in 1247, and from that time forward the Laufenburgs treated their *Reichsfreiheit*, granted in 1240, as of no account. Shortly before 1247 the Laufenburgs had built the castle of Neu-Habsburg on the Lake of Lucerne to keep the Forest districts in check, and this castle seems to have been badly damaged by the men of the mountains in or about the year 1247. There was considerable castle-burning about this time; presumably the strongholds of the nobles with Guelph sympathies were the objects of attack. If Tell's act of tyrannicide was ever performed at all, it was most probably performed between 1240 and 1250.

We cannot suppose that there was entire unanimity in the Forest districts. Many nobles and their vassals, especially in Uri and Obwalden, were for the pope; the influence of the Church was naturally cast on the same side, although it is surprising to find many evidences among the clergy of Imperial sympathies. It was possibly a Guelph and Ghibelline disturbance that led to the intervention of Rudolph of Habsburg in the affairs of Uri, at Uri's own request, in 1257 or 1258. Long before he had taken formal possession of the Laufenburg domains, the ingenious Rudolph was a prevailing figure in the Forest districts. He was an artist in statecraft who knew the

value of personal popularity as a cloak for selfish purposes. It is recalled how he would frequent taverns clad in a simple mantle and drink with the commonality. He played the patriarch to his own and everybody else's content, sitting in judgment under the linden at Altdorf. He was liked by all, and this general liking explains a good deal.

For when Rudolph in 1273 became both lord of the Forest districts and King of Germany, he put a heavy strain upon the feelings and the purses of the inhabitants. He refused to Uri and Schwyz the renewal of their charters of 1231 and 1240, and applied to other parts of Europe the acquisitive policy that he had practised so successfully in the Swiss regions. His chief triumph was the defeat, in 1278, of King Ottokar of Bohemia, by which the Habsburgs gained the most material of all their possessions—the duchy of Austria. But Rudolph did not meanwhile forget Switzerland. He took Payerne, Morat and Gümmingen out of the hands of Savoy; he absorbed Freiburg; Bern in 1288 resisted him gallantly but in vain. The convenient extinction of the house of Rapperschwyl gave him lands that ought by right to have gone to the Abbeys of Einsiedeln, St Gall and Pfäffers, of all three of which he became protector; he became steward of Glarus. Most important of all, from the Forest districts' point of view, he secured by purchase the possessions and rights in Lucerne of the Abbey of Murbach, thus drawing a Habsburg barrier across the chief means of communication between these districts and the outer world.

Necessarily all this altered the attitude of the Forest men towards the empire. Formerly the empire had been the guardian of all who were free and all who were privileged, the agency through which they hoped to preserve their privileges and their freedom. But now the Imperial power belonged to a local family that had proved itself in the past to have no regard for old institutions and traditional liberties. The empire had ceased to be a protection and had become a menace.

We may believe that the men of the Forest cantons saw Rudolph's selfish and oppressive propensities clearly enough—they could not have helped seeing them. But they were disarmed by the personal popularity that he had taken such trouble to acquire. They were plainly resolved, however, that what they had endured from Rudolph they would endure from no other Habsburg.

Rudolph died at Spires on 15th July 1291, leaving a presumption, but not a certainty, that his son Albert would succeed him. A fortnight later, on 1st August, representative men of Uri, Schwyz and Nidwalden assembled and drew up the most momentous document in Swiss history—the document that is the charter of Switzerland as a nation. For centuries this priceless parchment lay concealed in the archives of Schwyz; at last it was discovered, and it is now cherished as it deserves to be. The place where it was drawn up is unknown. Probably the event happened at Schwyz, Brunnen, Stans or Beckenried, at all of which places the early Confederates were wont to gather. Nor can we tell, save by conjecture, the names of the men who concluded the pact. The document was not signed, but sealed with the seals of the three cantons—or rather of the two cantons and a half, for Obwalden's name and seal were not placed upon the document until afterwards. The seals of Uri and Unterwalden remain; that of Schwyz, which was the first affixed, is missing.

By this instrument the three communities undertook in good faith " to assist each other mutually with all their forces, aids and good offices, within and without the country, against all who attempt violence upon them, or disturb or molest them in their persons or property." Each community promised to come to the others' aid, at its own cost, in time of need; the oath, it was declared, was taken " without guile or fraud, and in renewal by this present act of the old Confederation." But all, it was added, was " without prejudice to

the services that each, according to his condition, owes to his lord."

Thus did the Confederates conclude an offensive and defensive alliance. But the pact was more than that. It went on to pronounce that the communities would not recognize any judge who had bought his office by money or otherwise, or who was not a native and inhabitant of the confederated lands. Disputes between the Confederates were to be decided by the arbitration of "the most prudent," and common measures were adopted for the punishment of murder, arson and robbery, and for the judicial confirmation of all loans. The whole Confederation was to enforce obedience to the judges. And all these provisions, for mutual defence and for the administration of certain laws in common, was, "if it should please God, to endure for ever."

Thus the three cantons, like the twenty-two cantons of modern Switzerland, amalgamated for certain purposes of government, and for the rest maintained their separate rights. The common administration was very limited in its scope, but it was the germ of the future federalism. Two other characteristics of this parent Confederation are to be noted. It was conservative in its essence. The Confederates claimed no abstract rights and put forward no new ideas of liberty. They simply took measures to protect the rights that they deemed themselves already to possess. Nidwalden's position, no doubt, was in this respect somewhat different from that of the others. The Nidwaldners had few ancient privileges, and hoped by their league with Schwyz and Uri to improve their status. They did not, however, seek to gain new advantages, but to copy the old advantages of their allies. Again, the movement was national. It was not a popular rising against baronial oppression, for the nobles of the country took a share in it, and there is evidence that the chief participants in the pact were men of high standing.

It is not to be supposed that the men of the three cantons had any notion of forming an independent state. The reservation with regard to " the services which each owes to his lord " shows that quite plainly; although this reservation was doubtless also necessary to guard against social upheavals within the confederated lands themselves. At the same time, the refusal to accept judges who had bought their posts or who were not natives was an undoubted challenge to Imperial rights; the emperor was entitled to appoint whatsoever judges he pleased. But the whole course of events was to prove that what the Confederates disliked and feared was not the empire in itself, but the empire ruled by the Habsburgs.

The league that was thus formed on the 1st of August 1291 was the foundation of Swiss nationality. It was not the first compact between inhabitants of Swiss territory. But unlike the leagues between the cities, which were German or Burgundian, it had a distinctive character; it was formed by men who belonged to the mountains, and had the qualities native to the soil on which they dwelt; it was Swiss. With this nucleus of the three cantons the people of the surrounding mountains and plains gradually coalesced, each group preserving its own individuality as the three cantons did, but each yielding up a part of its freedom for the sake of all. The Confederation of 1291 was not only the beginning of Swiss nationality, but the key to it.

(*iii.*) *The Confederates*

While the electors to the Imperial throne hesitated between the claims of Albert of Habsburg, son of Rudolph, and Adolph of Nassau, all the foes of the house of Habsburg seized upon their opportunity. The Count of Savoy recovered Payerne and other places that Rudolph had taken from him. Bern threw off the Habsburg yoke and renewed her old amity

with Savoy. In the north-east the Bishop of Constance—himself a Habsburg-Laufenburg—formed an anti-Habsburg coalition that was joined by the town of Constance, the Abbey of St Gall, and various local nobles. This coalition united with Zurich; and to the league thus formed Uri and Schwyz added their forces by a treaty of alliance with Zürich concluded on 16th October 1291. The names of four men of Uri and three men of Schwyz who participated in this treaty are preserved. From Uri came Arnold of Silenen the Landammann, Werner of Attingshausen, Burkhard, and Conrad of Erstfeld; from Schwyz Conrad ab Iberg the Landammann, Rudolph Stauffacher and Conrad Hunn. It is pretty safe to conclude that these men were concerned in the pact concluded eleven weeks before, and we thus know seven names of the founders of Swiss liberty.

In 1292 Adolph of Nassau was chosen emperor; but Albert of Habsburg disputed the choice and took strong measures against Zürich. With the help of the people of Winterthur, who had received their charter from the Habsburgs and were loyal to the family through many tribulations, he inflicted a heavy defeat on the Zürich troops and drove them back to their city. But here, says tradition, he was confronted by a great host of warriors in full panoply, and in his alarm concluded a hasty truce. The host, it is said, was that of the women of Zürich, who had donned martial array to intimidate the city's foe.

Albert, however, secured his object. Zürich and the Bishop of Constance made peace with him, and Uri and Schwyz were left to face his wrath alone. He marched with his army as far as Zug, which he occupied, but then turned back. The Forest cantons did not submit; in the following year we find the men of Uri at loggerheads with Albert's lieutenant at Lucerne and laying violent hands on the St Gotthard traffic. But the main policy of the Forest cantons at this time was to get on good terms with the elected emperor, Adolph of Nassau

—thus proving that their aversion was not to the empire but to the Habsburgs. Their efforts were successful; in 1297 Adolph granted to Uri and Schwyz the renewal of their charters —or rather he granted to both the renewal of Schwyz's charter of 1240, although Uri's charter had been given nine years earlier.

But in 1298 Adolph was killed in battle and Albert of Habsburg became emperor. He refused to renew the charters of Uri and Schwyz, and treated Bern, Zürich and Lucerne in the same manner. But although Swiss tradition represents him as a tyrant he seems to have interfered very little with the political rights of the Forest cantons. It was in 1304, during his reign, that the two halves of Unterwalden were first united under a single Landammann.

Albert, however, was rigorous in exacting his dues as a landed proprietor, and it is owing perhaps to this that the "Austrian bailiffs" are such unpopular characters in Swiss tradition. In 1308 Albert was engaged in a survey of the entire Habsburg estates when his career was cut short by a characteristic mediæval tragedy. Albert's nephew, John of Austria, believed himself to be a wronged man; and when Albert was near Windisch, on his way to meet his wife Elizabeth, John and certain confederates, Walther von Eschenbach, Rudolph von Wart and others, fell upon him and slew him.

Elizabeth's vengeance was terrible. The castles of the regicides were destroyed and all their occupants slain; the innocent peasantry on the estates were massacred and their homes burnt to the ground. A thousand lives paid the penalty for the taking of the one royal life. Yet all the actual conspirators escaped except Rudolph von Wart, who was betrayed by a relative. Elizabeth sentenced him to be broken on the wheel on the actual spot of the murder. Three days his agony endured; and all the while his wife Gertrude knelt by his side in prayer for him.

Then, on the scene of Albert's murder and Rudolph's torment, Elizabeth reared the splendid Gothic fane of Königsfelden, both monastery and convent; and near by the convent dwelt Elizabeth's widowed daughter, Agnes of Hungary, winning an enduring name by her wisdom and good works. To the grim mediæval irony of all this is to be added, as anticlimax, a modern irony. In 1872 all that was left of the royal Abbey of Königsfelden was turned into a lunatic asylum.

Albert was not succeeded on the throne by a Habsburg, but by Henry VII. of Luxemburg. The Confederates (*Eidgenossen*, sworn comrades) immediately sent delegates to the new ruler and gained excellent terms from him. Henry confirmed the liberties of Uri and Schwyz; he also confirmed the liberties of Unterwalden, although that community had never officially possessed any—no charter had ever been granted to it. By this stroke of fortune Unterwalden obtained full equality with the other two partners. Henry further recognized the Confederation by appointing Werner of Homberg, a friendly noble of the Aargau, as Imperial bailiff of all the three cantons, with instructions to guard their rights against intrusion.

The Confederates had done well to act quickly. Henry came under the influence of the Habsburgs; he married a lady of the ducal house of Austria, and but for his death in 1313 the Forest cantons might have come into direct collision with the empire. As it was, they found themselves in critical and decisive collision with the Habsburgs. The head of the Habsburgs, Frederick the Handsome of Austria, claimed the throne on Henry's death, but the electors gave it to Lewis of Bavaria. But Frederick persisted in his claim, and gained the adherence of Zürich, Basel, St Gall, and many of the nobles of North Switzerland. The Forest cantons were thus hemmed in by enemies. They tried conciliation, but Frederick's brother and representative in these regions, Leopold, called (inappropri-

ately) the Glorious, repulsed their overtures. The Hapsburgs, indeed, were resolved to crush the spirit of the mountaineers once and for all; and their resolve was strengthened by certain recent proceedings of the men of Schwyz.

The old trouble with the Abbey of Einsiedeln had not subsided. The Schwyzers were always encroaching, and the monks were always trying to drive them back by inflicting spiritual penalties. Just at this time the Schwyzers were very much in the black books of the Church. They had rejected the decision of an arbitration tribunal; a fine was accordingly demanded from them, and they refused to pay. So they were excommunicated with bell, book and candle throughout the diocese of Constance. The indifference of mediæval persons and communities to the ban of the Church seems astonishing until one bears in mind that the ban was applied so often that it became commonplace, and that respect for it was forfeited by the circumstance that it was constantly used for purely secular ends. Those under the interdict knew that they could get it taken off sooner or later, and in the meantime made the most of their freedom from religious ties. Thus in 1314 the excommunicated Schwyzers, apparently on the principle that one may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, raided the monastery of Einsiedeln. Although the monks were frightened out of their wits, nobody was hurt; but the Schwyzers plundered the place with thoroughness, and carried off the whole community as prisoners, detaining them for eleven weeks. The Habsburg family were protectors of the monastery, and were infuriated by the outrage. The ecclesiastical result of the enterprise was that the excommunication was extended to Uri and Unterwalden; and an Imperial tribunal placed all the three partners under the ban of the empire.

The time was now at hand when this little group of communities, friendless, menaced by powerful enemies, and proscribed alike by Church and empire, was to battle for its very

existence. Before the immortal story of the struggle is told it is well to learn something of what manner of men these were who defied the might of mediæval Europe, and the manner of life they led. That manner of life, indeed, very much resembled the life that goes on unostentatiously at this day under the shadow of the great hotels in the Alpine villages. If, in modern Switzerland, we turn from looking at the mountains to look at the men and women, we see a hardy and robust peasantry, not often great in stature but wiry and almost incapable of fatigue, simple in habits and knowing but scanty luxuries. Each peasant-proprietor owns his little plot of land; each shares with the others the common woods and pastures, and the rights of grazing and timber are carefully shared out in village convocation.

As it is to-day, so it was then. The wooden chalets of modern times had their counterparts, not much more primitive, in the fourteenth century. In the fourteenth century, as now, the young and strong men drove the cattle up to the Alps or high pastures, and spent the summer up there with their herds under the white peaks, dwelling in little shanties like those at which the modern tourist calls for milk and cheese. And then, as in a few cantons to-day, it was the wont of the men of each valley to gather in assembly and give their voice on the political and economic affairs of the community. So it was among their Allemannic ancestors; the direct democracy of the Landesgemeinden is the most ancient democracy in the world.

Of refinement in such a life there was necessarily little, except the natural refinement that comes of hard, simple and lonely life amid glorious surroundings. In the Alpine regions, as everywhere else, the Church had done noble service for education. But by the fourteenth century the Church was more concerned with luxury and power than with its intellectual duties; the great decadence had begun. The writing in Latin, however, of the pact of 1291 indicated a degree of culture among

Mediæval Swiss Weapons. (1), (2), and (3), early forms of halberd; (4), complete halberd; (5), crossbow

the leading men; they would hardly have endorsed the document without understanding it. Lucerne, moreover, and still more Zürich, were centres of a vigorous intellectual life that must have influenced the Forest cantons.

For the time being we are more concerned with the question of how these mountaineers went to war. Each man, not an actual servant of a noble, had to find his own equipment; and most of them went forth to the fray in their working clothes—a stout jerkin, hose and cap. Those who could afford it wore a simple steel helmet. The lesser nobles of the Forest cantons had of course full knightly armour, but they were few in number. The weapons of the rank and file were adaptations of the implements of peace. The crossbow, Tell's weapon, was used for the chase as well as for war; the ordinary long bow was also employed, and archers carried a large oblong shield with a little shutter through which they could peep at the foe. The mace was a strong cudgel studded with iron points; it was called, with grim humour, *Morgenstern*, morning star, presumably with reference to its ray-like projections. But the most characteristic weapon—a Swiss invention—was the halberd. This had its origin in the woodman's axe; the axe-blade was affixed to the end of a wooden shaft six feet or so in length, an iron point or spear-head projected beyond the blade as a continuation of the shaft, and in time the weapon was improved by the addition of a pick or gouge opposite the blade. Some early halberds have a curious resemblance to that quite modern implement, the ice-axe. In all its forms the halberd was a very choice weapon for hammering at foemen clad in steel.

(*iv.*) *Morgarten*

The beginning of the critical year 1315 found the Forest communities in intense peril. The house of Austria was bent

upon making an end of their liberties, and they realized that in facing its power they had to depend wholly upon their own resources. The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, it is true, turned friendly; he removed the Imperial ban, and persuaded the Church to withdraw the excommunication that had been passed upon the three cantons. But Lewis was powerless in the lands south of the Rhine, which were dominated by his rival, Frederick of Habsburg.

In the autumn of 1315 Leopold of Austria, who had undertaken the taming of the mountaineers, raised his levies and prepared for the campaign. His plan was to lead in person an attack upon Schwyz and Uri, while a detached force under Count Otto of Strassberg was to make its way by Brienz to the Brünig Pass and descend upon Unterwalden. Leopold's headquarters were at Zug, and the easiest routes from there to Schwyz were those that went along either side of the Lake of Zug and united at its extremity, where Arth stands on the level stretch of ground between the Rigi and the Rufisberg. The Confederates, however, with the help of the men of Arth, had barred that way with a fortified wall that stretched right across the level between the two mountains. So Leopold had to take the next best route—that by Lake Egeri and Morgarten.

In the early days of November Leopold had gathered at Zug a host numbering, it is said, 22,000 men; the figures are probably exaggerated. Meanwhile the Confederates made ready for their ordeal by prayer and fasting. "The whole people," said the chronicler John of Winterthur, "prayed God that their cattle might not become the prey of their enemies, that their women might not be made captive, that their villages might not be destroyed, that their honour and virtue might suffer no stain." The place given to the cattle is significant of a pastoral folk. Having thus prepared themselves, the men of Schwyz and Uri, to the number of between 1300 and 1500, went out to meet the invader.

From Zug it is an easy walk for half a dozen miles or so south-eastwards to the peaceful little Lake of Egeri, lying amid charming sub-Alpine scenery. The road to Schwyz passes along the north side of the lake under the mountains, and beyond the end of the lake passes southwards into a narrow defile overhung on the east by the steep heights of Morgarten. From Schorno, above the defile, the road crosses a pass into Schwyz territory.

It was along this route that Leopold and his army travelled on 15th November 1315. It was a path that lent itself to surprises, but Leopold took no heed of that. He and his captives regarded the expedition as a hunting-party; they assumed that the mountaineers were cowering in their native villages, and it never occurred to them that these people might come out and meet them half-way. No military precautions were taken, and there was no attempt at scouting. As in a hunting party, the knighthood led the way—Leopold himself and the flower of High German chivalry. After the mailed nobles and men-at-arms came the footmen—many of them burghers of Zürich, Winterthur and Lucerne. Among the baggage was a cartload of ropes for tying the captured cattle of the mountaineers.

Quite heedlessly the long procession of horsemen began to ascend the defile, about three-quarters of a mile in length, that leads from the lake towards the pass. As they rode, the tradition goes, they held amicable discussion on the dividing up of the spoils that were to come. The warlike aspects of mediævalism are the easiest to recreate, and we can readily picture for ourselves the long train of armoured knights on their massive chargers, with crests and pennons waving in the frosty autumnal breeze. Nor was the spectacle unwatched. On the heights above men were looking eagerly, stiffening their sinews and awaiting the signal that was to summon them to action.

The first token given to Leopold and his knights of their danger was a rumble overhead of falling boulders. In an instant the boulders were among them, overthrowing the horsemen and smashing their armour like nutshells. More boulders followed, great tree-trunks came bowling down and swept the horses off their legs; the whole cavalcade was in sudden consternation and confusion. After the missiles came the men. The detachment above strode down with halberds and maces upon the flank of the struggling column; the main body of the Confederates appeared at the upper end of the defile and charged the column's head. Never was an army more completely trapped. The horsemen, jammed together in disorder on the narrow path, could not disengage themselves and form in fighting order. They were simply a helpless prey to the crashing halberds of the mountaineers. There was no escape even for those in the rear but in flight, and a panic-stricken mob of men in armour surged out at the foot of the defile. In the mad rush many of them were jostled into the lake, and lay there in their iron casing until they were drowned. The burgher-footmen, who can have had little heart for this fight against freemen, bolted at the first sign of conflict. The whole slaughter was among the knights and men-at-arms; 1500 of them perished, it is said, besides those who were drowned in the lake. Leopold himself escaped by a miracle; John of Winterthur, the chronicler, recalled how as a child he had seen the vanquished leader, "half-dead with grief," drag himself within the walls of the faithful Habsburg town.

Thus was fought the battle of Morgarten, that caused the fame of the little Forest states to ring through Europe. By this victory the Confederates gained assurance of the liberties they had claimed; they also proved to the world, as Wallace had proved in Scotland a few years before, that the day had passed when mailed chivalry was unconquerable on the field of war. The Habsburgs sought an explanation of their defeat

in treachery. It was said that the Count of Toggenburg had betrayed Leopold's purposes to the Confederates; and this although the Count was himself slain in the battle. But it did not need a traitor to tell the Confederates that Leopold would come by Morgarten. There were only two short routes from Zug to Schwyz, and one of them was closed by the fortifications between the Rigi and the Rufisberg. Bad generalship and lack of elementary military precaution were the only true explanations that the Habsburgs could have offered of their disaster.

Of the attack upon Unterwalden there is very little to be said. Otto of Strassberg, on hearing the news of Morgarten, fled with such haste that he ruptured himself and died soon afterwards.

At Brunnen, on 9th December 1315, the leaders of the victorious Confederates assembled to renew their covenant. The new compact differed from the old in that it was a public document and in the German language, whereas that of 1291 was a secret document and in Latin. Two fresh provisions were added. One was a stipulation that none of the three contracting states should enter into negotiation with outside powers without the knowledge and consent of the others. The second was that while regard was still to be paid to the rights of landed proprietors, the inhabitants of the valleys were to be absolved from all dues and services to such proprietors as attacked the Confederates or raised unjust pretensions against them. The Confederates had no hostility to landowners as such; the Habsburgs, indeed, held estates in Switzerland for nearly five hundred years after Morgarten. But they deeply resented any attempt by outside landowners at political interference.

The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria had every reason to be pleased at the downfall of his Habsburg foes, and was prompt in extending a friendly hand to the Confederates. In March

1316 he confirmed the liberties of the three cantons, and confiscated for the empire all the Habsburg lands and rights in the Confederate area. The Habsburgs, who nourished thoughts of vengeance, did not submit; but the losses of Morgarten were hard to repair, and in 1318 they consented to a truce with the Confederates. The truce guaranteed to the Habsburgs their landed rights; and they, on their part, undertook not to interfere in the political or judicial affairs of the three cantons, and recognized their liberty to trade with Lucerne, Zug and other towns. Thus the Confederacy, free from all political allegiance save to the empire, was able to exchange war and the menace of war for a vigilant peace.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Chapel on traditional site of Werner Stauffacher's house at Steinen.

Rütli or Grütli meadow, above the Lake of Uri.

Tell Chapels at Tells Platte, Bürglen and Küssnacht.

Altdorf—Tell Statue and thirteenth-century Tower.

Abbey of Einsiedeln.

Abbey of Königsfelden.

Battlefield of Morgarten (Memorial Chapel).

Schwyz, Brunnen, Stans, Beckenried (early meeting-places of the League).

Castle (ruined) of Attingshausen near Altdorf.

Schnitz-Thurm at Stansstad (traditionally dated 1308).

CHAPTER V

GROWTH OF THE CONFEDERACY

(*i.*) *Lucerne*

At the time of Morgarten the Everlasting League embraced three states; at the end of the fourteenth century it embraced eight. The simplicity of the original Confederation was succeeded by complexity, for the new states did not enter the League on uniform terms. Moreover, while the newcomers were all strongly bound—although not on identical conditions—to the three founders, they were much less strongly bound to each other. As the Confederation grew its tendency was to become more loosely knit.

For seventeen years after Morgarten no new recruit entered the League. But the Forest states were at this time in great demand as allies. There was in those days a constant forming and dissolving of alliances—differing from the Everlasting League in that they were simply temporary mutual aid agreements that in no way affected the internal polity, and only partly affected the external relationships, of the communities that entered into them. In February 1318, before the truce had been made with the Habsburgs, the Confederates concluded an alliance of this character with Bern, Freiburg, Solothurn, Morat and other Burgundian towns. Leopold, willing to wound the Confederates, was yet afraid to strike; but he felt equal to attacking the Burgundian towns, and laid siege to Solothurn. In spite of the aid given by the Bernese,

the town might have fallen had it not been for an incident that agreeably changed the whole aspect of affairs. A bridge that Leopold had built across the Aar was broken down by a sudden rising of that impetuous stream, and the soldiers crossing it were hurled into the torrent. The humane burghers of Solothurn promptly risked their lives in rescuing the unfortunate men. Leopold, in frank recognition of this sportsmanlike conduct, raised the siege and concluded a truce which was afterwards, as we saw in the last chapter, extended to the Forest states.

The truce expired in 1323, and the Confederates prepared for emergencies by forming a new alliance with Bern and opening relations with the people of Glarus. They had for some time been on friendly terms with the citizens of Thun; and the men of Uri, on their own account, made a treaty with the Abbot of Disentis, holder of the upper valley of the Reuss. But in 1323 the Habsburgs were in low water. Frederick of Austria had in the previous year been defeated and captured by the Emperor Lewis; Leopold made some perfunctory warlike preparations, but they came to nothing, and the truce was renewed.

In 1325 Frederick was released by Lewis and reconciled to him. The effect seems to have been general nervousness among the free communities of the empire. In 1327 the Confederates entered into a tremendous league that included Zürich, Bern, Mainz, Worms, Spires, Strassburg, Basel, Constance and a number of other towns. Four years later the men of Uri, again acting on their own account, concluded a treaty of friendship with the vicar-general of Como as representative of the valleys of Ticino and Ossola. Among other things, the contracting parties undertook the guardianship of their respective portions of the St Gotthard route. This early token of the tendency of the men of Uri to look southward is highly significant, and the new relations with the folk across

the main Alpine chain were destined to have important consequences.

In 1332 the Everlasting League had its first enlargement, and the community admitted was, quite naturally and inevitably, the town of Lucerne. This charming and prosperous but nowadays over-frequented place stands, as hosts of tourists know, at the threshold of the Forest districts, on the boundary between the Swiss highlands and lowlands. Its beginning was in the eighth century, when the monastery of Murbach, in Alsace, established a cell or a colony there dedicated to St Leodegar, or Leger, a saintly name familiar to many Englishmen who know no other. A fishing village grew up in the neighbourhood; but the situation of the place as the main outlet of the Forest districts gave it in time considerable commercial importance. The Murbach monastery interfered little in Lucerne's affairs; it appointed a bailiff who presided amicably over the town council and helped the burghers to resist the interferences of Murbach's protectors. From 1239 onwards the protectors were the ubiquitous Habsburgs, who delegated their powers to the Counts of Rothenburg. At the time of the Guelph and Ghibelline disturbances in the thirteenth century the Lucerne people were at loggerheads with both monastery and protector, and after much friction made a treaty by which they undertook not to give personal aid to the mountaineers who were making trouble up the lake.

In 1291, it will be recalled, Rudolph bought the lands and rights of Lucerne from the Abbey of Murbach. Lucerne's peace of mind was now at an end; the mild monastic bailiffs were succeeded by truculent Imperial bailiffs, with whom the town council was always at issue. The victory of Morgarten made an immense impression on the Lucerne folk, some of whom had taken what was doubtless an unwilling part in Leopold's campaign, and the town began to tend steadily in its politics towards the Confederation. But the Habsburgs

had still to be reckoned with in Lucerne; an association of citizens was formed to check the powers of the Habsburg bailiff, and by 1332 the town felt sufficient confidence in itself to seek admission into the *Eidgenossenschaft* of the Forest cantons.

The new compact was sealed on 7th November 1332; Lucerne became a member of the Confederation, but the terms of her membership, it is important to observe, were not identical with the terms concluded between the three original cantons. In the case of Lucerne the rights of the Habsburgs as overlords had to be given recognition. Yet Lucerne at the same time bound herself to join with the other three in resistance to external attack, which was far more likely to come from the Habsburgs than from any other quarter. A new item in the treaty was that any one of the four states feeling itself in danger should make a sworn declaration appealing for aid from the others. Disputes between Lucerne and the three original cantons were to be settled by arbitration; in case two of the original cantons quarrelled with a third Lucerne was obliged to support the two against the other.

Lucerne's action was resented by the Habsburgs, but a brief war in 1334 was followed by a peace in which the house of Austria made a few concessions. A more serious campaign occurred in 1336. The Schwyzers conducted some successful pillaging in Habsburg territory; the Lucerne people, on their part, were unable to shake off the Habsburg incubus, but gained a recognition of the rights they had enjoyed under the Abbey of Murbach. Lucerne's constant object was to gain the freedom under the empire that belonged to her three partners. There was a pro-Austrian party in Lucerne, however, and it is narrated, truly or untruly, that on the night of St James's Day, in 1343, they attempted to gain possession of the town. The plan of the conspirators, who wore red sleeves as an emblem of their cause, was detected by a little boy; he was caught, however, and compelled to take an oath not to divulge

what he had seen to any living soul. He escaped to the guild-house of the butchers, and entering the room where the butchers were drinking, proceeded to address himself to the stove. "O stove, hearken to my words," he began; the butchers thought he was crazy. But when the boy informed the stove of the gathering of armed men close at hand, and of the oath he had taken, the butchers pricked up their ears. Presently the alarm was given; the citizens snatched up their arms and hurried out into the streets, and the conspiracy was crushed.

A minor item may be introduced here that is significant of the irregular structure of the Confederation. The admission of Lucerne was accompanied by an alliance of the Forest states with the little lake-side communities of Weggis and Gersau. Weggis was annexed to Lucerne about half a century later, but Gersau remained a tiny free republic, allied with the Confederation but never admitted to cantonal rank, until 1798.

(*ii.*) *Zürich*

Lucerne was the first distinctively civic member of the Confederation. She had all the municipal characteristics of the time and possessed commercial importance that was steadily enhanced by the growing use of the St Gotthard route. But by her position she was in natural sympathy with the Forest states; she came at length to be known as a fourth Forest state. The next comer to the Confederation, however, was not only a city, but a city of the plains. The name of Zürich has already often been prominent in this narrative. As a Roman customs station and commercial centre; as a favoured town of Charlemagne; as the seat of a great religious house under royal patronage; as the headquarters of the important administrative division of the Zürichgau; and finally—since 1218—as a powerful free city of the empire, Zurich had always taken

a foremost place in the affairs of the Helvetic regions. The time was approaching when she was to become a most weighty member of the new Confederacy—too weighty a member, as the other Confederates more than once had reason to think.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed an enormous advance in the activities and amenities of civic life. The early mediæval town was a comfortless and unhealthy place of abode. Surrounded by high fortified walls that shut out the air and the landscape, the towns were jammed together in a confined space, and their houses were separated only by narrow, ill-paved and insanitary alleys. The general dirt and congestion were intensified by the cattle, which, after grazing on the lands that each town owned in its neighbourhood, were driven within the walls at sunset and lodged in undesirable nearness to the human denizens.

In the thirteenth century, however, there were the beginnings of a municipal spirit. Dirt was abated by regulation; each citizen was compelled to sweep his own front, unclean industries were controlled, sanitation was looked after, there were elementary experiments in what we would now call town-planning. The citizens, moreover, began to amuse themselves with sports and festivals. In some towns a literary cult was developed; Zürich especially boasted a famous poetic and musical circle, with the Abbess Elizabeth as its patron and Roger Manesse—composer of many *Minnelieder* and gatherer, with his son, of the famous collection of songs of love and chivalry known as the Codex Manesse—as its leading figure.

Another development of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and one that has fortunately left permanent traces, was the supersession of the simple but dignified Romanesque architecture by the complex splendour of Gothic. The characteristic of all the varieties of this style, in Switzerland as elsewhere, was the pointed arch; by this device the massiveness essential to the old rounded arch of the Romanesque

period was avoided, and the architects were given a free hand in elaboration and fantasy. The elaboration in the Early Pointed or Lancet stage of Gothic—corresponding to the Early English in England—was slight, and the buildings in this style have much of the simplicity of Romanesque. The thirteenth century was the era of the Late Pointed or Pure stage, the middle and perfect stage of Continental Gothic. In the following century came the Flamboyant stage, tending to lavishness and ultimately to extravagance. Numerous examples of all the stages survive on the soil of Switzerland; the most notable are the cathedrals of Basel, Geneva, Lausanne and Bern. The cathedral of Basel is part Romanesque, part Gothic of all kinds; it was so frequently damaged by fire and other causes that it was in constant process of rebuilding. The nave of Geneva is of early date, but, like Basel, it shows examples of all Gothic styles. The finest Gothic structure in Switzerland is the minster of Lausanne, rebuilt in the thirteenth century after many fires, and dedicated in 1275 in presence of the Pope and King Rudolph. The building is a triumph in the middle and later styles of Gothic. Bern Cathedral belongs to the Flamboyant or decadent stage, but for all that it has a bold simplicity and power that aptly reflect the character of the city to which it belongs.

While the Gothic style was passing its meridian in the late thirteenth century the towns were making political progress of a very marked character. Their government had during the early thirteenth century been in the hands of groups of nobles and privileged burgesses. But the lesser and unenfranchised citizens began to lay claim to a share of rule. They were organized in craft-guilds, trade associations of artisans that were at first purely industrial and economic in their purposes. But the guilds fell out with the ruling caste; they found the advantage of combining their forces, they laid claim to a share

of authority, and after a good deal of struggling they usually obtained it.

The events that happened in Zürich between 1336 and 1351 were significant of the general tendency of civic affairs in these declining days of feudalism; but they are given distinctiveness by the strong personality of Rudolph Brun. He was a patrician citizen who had lost a lawsuit and consequently nourished a grievance. Hence, when in 1336 the craft-guilds rose against the patricians, Brun placed himself at the head of the popular party, and became virtual dictator of Zürich. He established a municipal constitution by which the council was composed of thirteen heads of the craft-guilds and thirteen patricians, six of the latter nominated by the burgomaster; the burgomaster, of course, was Brun. Dissatisfied patricians were driven out of the city and sought refuge with the Habsburg-Laufenburg family, now established at Rapperschwyl.

For some years after 1336 Brun absolutely ruled the internal and external affairs of Zürich. He made a series of alliances with neighbouring cities and potentates, and while his relations with the Habsburgs at Rapperschwyl were naturally strained, he was careful to keep on good terms with the house of Austria. But in 1347 an event happened that seriously affected not only Zürich's position but that of the Forest states. The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria died, and his successor, Charles IV. of Luxemburg, won the good graces of the Habsburgs by restoring to the house of Austria all the rights, in the Forest states and elsewhere in High Germany, of which Lewis had deprived it. On hearing this ominous news the Confederates took to sharpening their weapons. The diplomatic Brun, however, after having gained from the new ruler a confirmation of Zürich's privileges, sought to conciliate the newly formidable Habsburgs.

His plans were roughly upset by the action of the Habs-

Zurich, showing the Cathedral Church

burgs of Rapperschwyl. The head of that house took part with the exiled patricians in an attempt to overthrow the prevailing rule in Zürich. Certain of the patricians entered the town in various disguises; they opened a gate during the night, and the Count of Rapperschwyl, with a numerous following, marched in. The alarm-bell was sounded; the citizens tumbled into their clothes and snatched up their arms; there was a deadly struggle in the streets, and in the end the invaders were overcome. The Count himself was taken prisoner; the patricians who had not fallen in the strife were beheaded or broken on the wheel. This *Mordnacht*—night of blood—was on 23rd February 1350, and nine days later Brun, prompt in following up his victory, received the surrender of the castle of Rapperschwyl.

After this it was of very little use to make advances to the Count of Rapperschwyl's Austrian relatives. Brun nevertheless did make advances, but the Duke Albert of Austria coldly repulsed them. Brun consequently, perhaps with no good will—for he had always a weakness for Austria—turned his eyes towards the little Confederacy up among the mountains. Possibly as a testimony to the good faith of his anti-Austrian intentions, he burnt the castle and town of Rapperschwyl at Christmas 1350, and drove the inhabitants, aged, women and children, to wander homeless and shelterless in the bitter winter weather. This outrage caused widespread anger even in that not very humane age; but the Confederates seem to have taken it as a guarantee that Brun was really in earnest, and they entered into the negotiations that ended in Zürich becoming a member of their League on 1st May 1351.

The terms of Zürich's entry were strikingly different from the earlier compacts, and suggest that the Confederates believed they were making a great gain which was worth substantial concessions. The League of the Forest cantons did not permit of the parties concluding alliances independently of

their colleagues. But in the treaty of 1351 Zürich on the one hand, and the Forest cantons on the other, reserved the right to make separate alliances; the only stipulation was that the Confederate relation should be given priority over all other relations. Notwithstanding this safeguard, the provision gave Zürich an opportunity of playing a double game, of which she more than once availed herself. Another clause in the compact shows that the Confederates had begun to form plans of expansion. It was stipulated that the parties should aid each other not only in defensive wars, but in wars for the possession of territory between the Alps and the Rhine and along the course of the Aar. The Forest states bound themselves to come to Zürich's assistance at the request of the burgomaster, without the sworn appeal that was stipulated for when Lucerne entered the League. In case of a dispute between Zürich and a Forest state reference was to be made to four arbitrators, two from the Forest states and two from the city; if these failed a referee was to be called in, and the referee was to belong to the Confederacy. The compact was to be renewed every ten years, and was not to be altered without the consent of all the parties.

The entry of a great city into the Confederation had a vital influence on the whole history of Switzerland. That will be clear enough as this narrative proceeds. What concerns us now is that the solidarity of the new model Confederation was very quickly tested. In the late summer the Duke Albert himself besieged Zürich with 16,000 men. An attempt was made at arbitration, and the issue was placed in the hands of the widowed Queen Agnes of Hungary. She was a benevolent and a popular lady; but she was also a Habsburg and a queen, and the effect of her decision would have been to restore to the house of Austria most of the powers over the Forest states that had been destroyed at Morgarten. So the Confederates repudiated her verdict, and the war began again.

(*iii.*) *Glarus and Zug*

The first move of the Forest states was an attack upon Glarus. The Glarus territory consists of the long upper valley of the Linth, which in modern times presents a microcosm, as it were, of Switzerland. It is industrial, agricultural and pastoral, it is beloved of Swiss and German holiday-makers, and it possesses imposing and thoroughly Alpine scenery. The tremendous precipices of the Glärnisch frown down upon the busy factories of the town of Glarus, where Roman Catholics and Protestants are on such friendly terms that they both use the same church; and the valley's upper end is closed by the grim and difficult Tödi, the highest mountain of Northern Switzerland.

From the tenth century onwards the men of Glarus were tenants of the convent of Säckingen on the Rhine. The convent's rule was a mild and accommodating one; nor did the protectors trouble the valley much until the protectorship fell into the hands of the Habsburgs. The Emperor Rudolph not only sought to replace the convent's authority with his own, but conferred upon his sons the right of petty justice in the valley and the presidency of the tenants' assemblies that were held three times a year. This characteristic process of absorption was vehemently disliked by the men of the valley, who protested that they were tenants of the convent and not of the Habsburgs. The relations of Glarus with Schwyz had been limited to disputes about pastures; but shortly before Morgarten all these disputes were ended, and when the Duke Leopold summoned the men of Glarus to march with him against the Confederates they indignantly refused.

Glarus was steadily and inevitably drawn towards the Confederacy. An alliance was made in 1323, and further Austrian assaults upon the privileges of the tenants culminated in 1350, when the post of sub-bailiff, always hitherto given to a Glarus

man, was handed over to a stranger. Anti-Austrian sentiment was therefore very strong in the valley when the Confederates invaded it in November 1351. The Glarus people, instead of resisting, welcomed the Confederates as rescuers; and when in February of the following year a noble named Walter of Stadion attempted to recapture the valley for Austria, the inhabitants defeated and slew him.

Glarus had now proved its sympathy for the Confederation and its ability in arms. So on 4th June 1352 it was admitted to the Perpetual League, but on restrictive terms—less as an ally than as a dependant. Glarus was bound to help the Confederates whenever called upon, but the Confederates could decide for themselves when it was a question of helping Glarus. Unlike Zürich, the new-coming canton had no right to conclude treaties on its own account, and the terms of the compact with Glarus could at any time be altered by a majority of the Confederates. A suggested explanation of these terms is that since the valley of the Linth opened northward it was especially exposed to Austrian attack, and the Confederates did not want to compromise themselves by too close a bond. This loyal and courageous little community, however, afterwards proved itself worthy of the fullest confidence, and obtained it. In the treaty with Glarus in 1352 Lucerne had no part. She was still somewhat of a subordinate in the Confederacy, and her special relations with the Habsburgs made her position a difficult one.

There was considerable fighting of a miscellaneous sort in the early months of 1352. The Confederates ravaged Beromunster and its neighbourhood; the Austrians sacked Küssnacht; the Lucerne burghers retaliated by destroying the castle of Neu-Habsburg. Of much more importance was the invasion of Zug in June 1352. The town and district of Zug were dependent upon the Habsburgs, partly as overlords and partly as protectors of religious houses. The district inter-

posed itself as a Habsburg wedge between the Forest states and Zürich, and the possession of it was obviously of high strategical importance to the Confederacy. In June 1352 the territory of Zug was invaded. The country places yielded willingly, but the town of Zug held out for fifteen days before it surrendered. Four days later Zug was admitted to the Perpetual League on the most advantageous terms, practically identical with those obtained by Zürich. The contrast between this open-armed welcome to a hostile town and the restrictions coldly placed on the friendly people of Glarus is very marked indeed. But strategy required that Zug should be well-disposed towards the Confederation; the Confederates, if they were no match for the Habsburgs at a bargain, were not devoid of political acumen.

Hardly had Zug been brought into the Confederacy when the Duke Albert appeared with a formidable army outside the walls of Zürich. But dissensions in his camp, and his sufferings through illness—he was known sometimes as Albert the Wise, and sometimes as Albert the Paralytic—induced him to conclude a truce. Negotiations were then carried on through the medium of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and these negotiations led to the conclusion of what is called the Peace of Brandenburg on 1st September 1352.

The chief importance of this treaty lies in the circumstance that the existence of the Confederation—apart from the two newest members of it, Glarus and Zug—was officially recognized for the first time by the house of Austria. The Duke and the Confederates each undertook to restore lands seized during the war, to indemnify sufferers, and to respect each others' rights. Lucerne, while remaining in the League, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Habsburgs, and Schwyz and Unterwalden promised non-interference with the landed rights of the house of Austria. Glarus and Zug were left out of the treaty altogether; their membership of the League was not

admitted, and in point of fact it lapsed for some time—although both cantons were ready to revive it when the opportunity came.

(*iv.*) *Bern*

The peace brought about by the Treaty of Brandenburg was of short duration. In 1353 the Duke Albert was in arms again against the Confederates; but before that happened an eighth member, and a very powerful member, had been added to the Perpetual League. Hitherto the Swiss Confederacy, the League of High Germany as it was called at that time, and for long afterwards, had been an Allemannic organization. But it had already cast its eyes upon Burgundian Switzerland, and its friendly relations with the greatest of the western cities had been sealed by comradeship in arms.

The dominant feature of the early fourteenth century in Western Switzerland was the assertiveness of Bern, which was beginning the process of absorption by which it ultimately replaced its old patrons of Savoy. We have already seen how Bern was founded by Berchtold V. of Zäringen in 1191, becoming a free Imperial city in 1218; how the city owned the overlordship of the house of Savoy in its antagonism to the Kyburgs, and how it regained its liberties from Count Peter as a reward for the citizens' services in the field; and how, after Peter's death, Rudolph of Habsburg was able to reduce the Bernese to submission in 1288. But this cloud upon their fortunes was of very brief duration. When Adolph of Nassau was elected emperor with Albert, Rudolph's son, as his rival, Bern supported Adolph's cause; Freiburg—generally Bern's rival—the counts of Neuchâtel and Gruyères, and the baron of Weissenburg, made a formidable combination on Albert's behalf, and this combination was joined, surprisingly enough, by the counts of Savoy. War was declared; the Bernese

found their opponents occupying the hill of Dornbühl near Oberwangen, attacked them instantly and irresistibly, and completely routed them.

For the next forty years Bern pursued a steadily acquisitive policy, acting chiefly on her own account, but entering and leaving numerous alliances as it suited her own convenience. Towards two allies, however, she was uniformly well-disposed—the free Imperial town of Solothurn and the League of the Forest cantons. The Bernese gave valiant assistance to Solothurn during the siege by Leopold, already described, in 1318. The first definite alliance with the Forest states was in 1323. By that time the Bernese had secured from the Habsburgs the protectorship of the great religious house of Interlaken, which had wide possessions in the Oberland and towards the Brünig Pass; Bern was thus in territorial touch with Unterwalden. Bernese intervention, moreover, in a fratricidal strife that raged in the Kyburg family, gave the city possession of Thun, the key of the Oberland.

Bern wanted the Oberland, however, not merely as protector but as possessor, and found it necessary therefore to have stringent dealings with the lords of Weissenburg, the chief Oberland landowners. The opportunity came in 1334, when the men of the Hasli Valley, where Meiringen stands, revolted against the Weissenburgs and appealed to Bern for aid. The Bernese, knowing that the Weissenburgs were in financial straits, offered to buy the valley, and gave an element of compulsion to the deal by invading the Weissenburg property in the Simmenthal. The Weissenburgs sold the Hasli Valley and became burgesses of Bern, which had now a definite footing in the Oberland. The men of Hasli continued to govern their own affairs in their communal assemblies; but they were subjects, not allies, of Bern.

The restlessness among the industrial classes that was effecting at that time such marked changes in civic government—as

we have seen in the case of Zürich—made its appearance in Bern towards the end of the thirteenth century. The craft-guilds, there as elsewhere, claimed their part in administration. The governing body of Bernese citizens, largely recruited as it was from the surrounding nobility, was at this time and for centuries afterwards a most exclusive group, holding resolutely to its political authority. But it dealt diplomatically with this first agitation of the craft-guilds; it created a new body, a council of sixteen, which chose a larger council of two hundred, to which representatives of the crafts were admitted. But the control of policy remained in the hands of the burgomaster and the patrician council of twelve.

In the year 1338 there was a general feeling in Western Switzerland that the power of Bern had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. The city of Freiburg, still smarting from the loss of Gümmingen—which had been seized by Bern a few years earlier—took steps to form a redoubtable coalition against the Bernese. The barons of Vaud, the counts of Kyburg and Gruyères, the bishops of Lausanne and Basel, and many other noble personages joined the League; the house of Austria lent its support, and the emperor himself was in sympathy with the movement. Bern's only friends were Solothurn, the men of the Hasli Valley, and, farther off, the Forest cantons. An attempt to come to terms was unsuccessful, and in the spring of 1339 an army of 20,000 men was assembled at Freiburg for the crushing of Bern.

The Bernese had meanwhile gathered all the help they could. Nine hundred warriors came from the Forest cantons, wearing the white cross that is to be seen to-day on the flag of the Republic. The Hasli Valley sent 300 men; sympathizers from the Simmen Valley assembled to the number of another 300, and contingents came from Solothurn and Morat. The Bernese army of 5000, with these reinforcements, marched out of the city on 21st June 1339, and advanced upon Laupen,

about a dozen miles to the south-westwards, at the confluence of the rivers Saane and Sense. The Bernese, on hearing that the enemy had moved from Freiburg, had just had time to throw into Laupen a body of 600 men; and these, under John of Bubenberg, were valiantly holding their own against the attacking hosts. When the army of Bern, under Rudolph of Erlach, had crossed the wooded heights of the Bramberg, they found the enemy drawing up to meet them on the high ground above the River Sense, about two miles east of Laupen. The infantry, mostly Freiburg men, were on the left, the knights and mounted men-at-arms on the right.

The Bernese were given no time to rest after their march. The Freiburg footmen immediately began a turning movement, and the Bernese purposely retired before it towards the Bramberg. The Freiburgers believed the battle already won and pressed on enthusiastically; then, at a signal from Rudolph of Erlach, the Bernese turned upon their assailants, broke the hostile ranks, captured the Freiburg banner, and sent the infantry back in headlong flight. Meanwhile the men of the Forest cantons, who had by their own choice faced the cavalry, were resolutely holding their position against tremendous odds; but they were in grave danger of being surrounded and cut off when the Bernese main body, having smashed the enemy's left wing, fell heavily upon his right. The Forest men were rescued; there was a great slaughter of nobles and retainers; and the vanquished foes of Bern were thrust in hopeless disorder across the river.

After triumphantly entering Bern with the spoils of this great victory the conquerors followed up their success with attacks on Freiburg and other hostile places. "God is become a citizen of Bern," declared the Bernese, and their enemies mournfully echoed the saying. Peace was made in 1340 on the intervention of Queen Agnes of Hungary, who brought about an alliance of ten years between Bern and the house of Austria.

The supremacy of Bern was now undisputed throughout the west; even Freiburg itself became reconciled. Only the Count of Gruyères maintained his hostility. Gruyères, famous in modern days for its cheese, was mediævally famous for the gay manners and easy morals of its counts. For all their laxity, however, they were great potentates in Western Switzerland; wide lands owned the sway of the lords who dwelt in the picturesque Castle of Gruyères, poised on its rocky little hill in the upper valley of the Saane. But in 1349 Bern and Freiburg divided most of these lands between them, and the glories and gaieties of the house of Gruyères were sorely diminished.

Bern's friendly relations with Austria were maintained, but the Bernese felt that a considerable strain was placed upon these relations in 1352, when the city was expected to take a share in the Austrian campaign against Zürich. After the peace of Brandenburg Bern decided that the time had come to enter into closer relations with the Forest cantons. She offered to join the Perpetual League, and the offer was gladly accepted. The treaty, which was signed on 6th March 1353, was practically identical with that concluded with Zürich in the previous year. Bern preserved her freedom to make alliances without consulting the other Confederates; such a stipulation was, indeed, necessary in view of Bern's relations with Austria. The pact was only with Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden; Zürich and Lucerne were not concerned in it.

In the spring of 1353 Albert of Austria, dissatisfied with the peace of Brandenburg, prepared to renew the offensive against Zürich. But nobody except Albert wanted to fight, and the summer passed in negotiations. The Emperor Charles IV. now began to take a hand in Swiss affairs. His rather muddled policy seems to have been dictated by a wish at once to keep on good terms with the house of Austria and to avoid getting on too bad terms with Austria's opponents. His first

step was to confirm the charters of Zürich and Uri, but not those of Schwyz and Unterwalden. The Confederates were unanimously dissatisfied; and when the emperor later on proposed arbitration, the Perpetual League remembering its experience with Queen Agnes of Hungary, emphatically declined. So the emperor and Duke Albert jointly declared war, and advanced upon Zürich in September 1354. It was characteristic of the loose structure of the Confederacy at this stage that among the troops who marched against the Confederate state of Zürich were citizens of the Confederate state of Bern.

The Imperial plans were spoiled by a device of the ingenious Brun, still burgomaster of Zürich. He hoisted the Imperial flag upon the walls, a reminder that Zürich was a free city of the empire. The contingents from the other free cities protested against attacking this loyal Imperial town; the emperor and Albert were obliged to give way, and the siege was raised. Peace was restored in 1355 by the treaty of Ratisbon, a virtual repetition of the treaty of Brandenburg, but with the Imperial authority to uphold it. In the following year Zürich became an ally of Austria, and Brun's ambition was thus realized after many distractions. This remarkable man died in 1360, after he had for two years enjoyed a pension granted by the house of Austria.

For a quarter of a century or so the Confederates were at peace with the Habsburgs, who experienced some troublous times. They fell out with the emperor, who gave formal recognition to the Confederacy. Austria sought to counterbalance this by an alliance with Bern, whose policy at this time was a judicious and curiously successful example of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. In 1362 the emperor and the house of Austria were reconciled; three years later Rudolph IV., who had succeeded Albert the Wise, died in Italy and left the Austrian title and possessions to his

brother Albert, who was a minor. The Forest cantons were always suspicious of Austria, and always ready to take advantage of her weakness. Hence Rudolph's death was promptly followed on the part of Schwyz by the reconquest of Zug, which thus again became an unofficial member of the Confederation.

(v.) *The Priests' Ordinance and the "English" War*

The administrative bond between the Confederate states was, as has several times been noted, a very fragile one. Each state kept its internal affairs very much to itself. But it marks an advance to find the states, or most of them, making arrangements in common as to the limits of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. This happened in 1370, the year of what was called the priests' ordinance. The people of that day did not expect extreme piety of their spiritual pastors and very often did not get it. The clerical garb was apt to be regarded as a cloak for excesses that would have been very dangerous indulgences for an unprotected layman. But it happened that an ecclesiastic of Zürich named Bruno Brun, son of the burgomaster Brun, and a notorious scapegrace, went beyond all bounds by attacking and plundering the chief magistrate of Lucerne on the public road. The Lucerne people were very angry indeed, and the citizens of Zürich admitted that highway robbery was not a proper priestly occupation. Brun claimed the protection of the Church and of Austria. Zürich thereupon summoned a convention of the Confederates, not including Bern but including Zug, and at the gathering precise rules were laid down forbidding the intrusion of the clergy upon secular affairs, and guaranteeing the security of travellers on the public roads against clerical or non-clerical highwaymen. More general stipulations were that the oath of allegiance to the Confederation, taken by

cleric or layman, was to have precedence over oaths to Austria; and that no court, spiritual or temporal, should (except in purely spiritual affairs) assert a jurisdiction superior to that of the courts of the Perpetual League.

Five years after this, in 1375, occurred the singular episode of the " English " war—the only recorded invasion of Switzerland by hostile British forces. It was the time of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, and armed men from our island were constantly cropping up in the most unlikely places in Western Europe. The instigator of this particular raid was a certain Enguerrand de Coucy, son-in-law of Edward III. and grandson of the Austrian Leopold who was beaten at Morgarten. This nobleman claimed a dowry of 5000 marks from the house of Austria, which it refused to grant. So de Coucy got together a large band of freebooters and began to plunder Austrian territory. These freebooters, although the Swiss called them English, were mostly Welsh; their leader was Evan Griffith ab Einion, whose name sounds queerly exotic in this environment. Each of them wore a *gugel* or spiked helmet, a circumstance that gained for the conflict against them the name of *gugelkrieg*. They committed merciless depredations between the Jura and the Aar; Austria appealed to the Confederates for aid, and several of these, believing their own safety to be menaced, responded to the appeal. One band of the marauders was overcome by the men of Lucerne and Unterwalden at Buttisholz; the Bernese gained victories over another band at Anet and Fraubrunnen, and de Coucy and his men retired discomfited across the Jura.

The repulse of these invaders brought fresh prestige to the city of Bern, which was able soon afterwards to extinguish the last vestiges of power possessed by the Kyburgs. Count Rudolph of Kyburg tried to restore his family possessions by an attempt upon Solothurn in 1382. A secret conspiracy of the kind contrived at Zürich and Lucerne in earlier times was

arranged, but a peasant named Johann Roth detected the plot and gave the alarm. To this day the lineal descendant of Roth is presented each year with a coat in Solothurn's colours, red and white. Afterwards Bern summoned the Confederates to her support; siege was laid to the Kyburg stronghold at Burgdorf, and although the place was not taken the Kyburgs were reduced to such straits that they sold Burgdorf to Bern and relinquished all their remaining rights in Thun. This was the end of the Kyburgs as a great Swiss territorial family.

The Perpetual League was now approaching the second great crisis in its history. As a Confederation it was even less compact than in the days of Morgarten; the new Confederates had been admitted on loose and variable terms, certain of them had axes of their own to grind apart from the Confederacy's interests, and there was not the community of purpose that had characterized the original League. But the three Forest cantons were still sworn comrades as of old, and these three, and the others as well, had developed their communal consciousness into what may be called a state consciousness. Each had felt its individual power, was seeking to influence affairs beyond its borders, and was grasping the idea of expansion; and each was aware of the value of the League, not only as a source of strength and protection to itself, but as a general force that could be exerted in the general interest. Independence of the empire was not yet thought of, but the way was all the time being silently prepared for it.

(*vi.*) *The Battle of Sempach*

The events that culminated in the decisive battle of Sempach developed rapidly and almost unexpectedly. The relations of the Perpetual League with Austria were, it is true, never satisfactory, and it was pretty obvious that sooner or

later Austria would seek to reassert herself, or that the Confederates would make an effort to drive her shadow once and for all from the surface of the land. But it would have taken a clever prophet to declare in the summer of 1385 that the issue would be solved ere the crops were harvested a second time.

Austria was still ruled by Albert III., now grown to man's estate; but the Swiss possessions of the Habsburgs, along with Alsace, Tyrol and other wide lands, were assigned to Albert's brother Leopold. This Prince, a man of splendid aspect and renowned in war, was the aggressive Habsburg for whose advent the Confederates had held themselves in readiness. He was bent not only upon effective government of the lands he already possessed, but upon the acquirement of new powers. He obtained from the Emperor Wenceslas the bailiffship of Suabia, and the Suabian cities, fearing for their liberties, entered into a league with the Swiss cities. There seemed a prospect of another long spell of friction like that of the century's middle years.

But matters were precipitated by the vehement action of Lucerne. The castle of Rothenburg, on the route between Lucerne and the Aargau, was a Habsburg stronghold; and the garrison were wont to levy ruinous tolls upon traffic that caused angry resentment among the Lucerne folk. Their exasperation was further increased by the savage repression of a rising in the valley of the Entlebuch. At the end of 1385 the wrath of Lucerne boiled over; the burghers attacked and destroyed Rothenburg castle, and incidentally freed the town of Sempach from the Austrian yoke.

This happened while the Confederates were still at peace with Austria. The truce was renewable in 1386, and Leopold did not renew it. He made terms with the Suabian cities, and concentrated his whole strength upon an effort to crush the Confederacy. Knights and their retainers, tenants and burghers, to the number of 5000 or 6000, were gathered in the

Aargau, ostensibly for an attack upon Zürich. This was only a feint, but it had the effect of keeping the Zürich citizens within their walls. It failed, however, to outwit the men of the Forest states, who had hastened to Zürich on the threat of danger. These astute warriors had an excellent scouting service—a department of war that the proud Austrian chivalry ignored—and learned without difficulty that Leopold's true objective was Lucerne. So while Leopold was making an elaborate and cunning détour through the Aargau, the Forest men marched across country and chose their battleground on the hillside above the Lake of Sempach.

The carefulness of the Swiss in picking their ground was an important cause of their frequent victories against heavy odds. Mediæval knightly leaders seldom troubled about choice of ground; they depended upon the shattering impact of armoured cavalry, and it took them a long time to learn that there were conditions under which armoured cavalry was of no manner of use. The Swiss had a very prominent share in the imparting of the lesson. A large instalment of it was given at Morgarten. The Austrian route to Lucerne via Sempach did not admit of a repetition of the Morgarten trap—which, besides, the Austrians might have remembered—so the Swiss selected an area upon which the mounted men would be compelled to dismount.

The town of Sempach, about ten miles from Lucerne, lies on the north-eastern bank of the Lake of Sempach. Above the town rises a sloping hillside, and in a wood on this hillside, about a mile and a half from Sempach, the army of the Forest cantons, numbering about 1400 men, bivouacked on the night of 7th July 1386. On the morning of the 8th Leopold and his forces passed through Sursee at the farther end of the lake—the gates of this little town are still adorned with the double eagle of Austria—and advanced, as the Confederates knew they would, along the north-eastern bank. Leopold meant to chastise Sempach on his way to Lucerne.

At nine in the morning the Swiss emerged from their wood and confronted the Austrian host straggling along the hillside. Leopold halted; he had supposed the Swiss to be at Zürich, he was awaiting reinforcements, and he did not like the look of the ground. It sloped fairly steeply; it was irregular, cut up by hedges and ditches, and dotted with clumps of brushwood. This was no place for knightly warfare. But the Austrian cavaliers were quite prepared to fight on foot; they dismounted and passed their horses to their attendants, and the army formed up in a long line bristling with spears and lances to await the Swiss attack.

This was delivered in the form of a compact phalanx, shaped like a blunted wedge. The Lucerne men had the place of honour at the wedge's tip. After a solemn prayer for Divine aid the little army advanced with loud shouts upon the Austrian line, which advanced to meet them. The Swiss attempt was unsuccessful. The Austrians, heavily armoured, and protected by their long lances, were unassailable; they on their part, owing to the wedge-formation, had only the head of the wedge to assail, and they knocked it to pieces. The Lucerne leader, Peter of Gundoldigen, and sixty of his men were slain, and the town's banner was nearly captured.

The Swiss, with their usual resourcefulness, swiftly changed their tactics. It was a blazing July day, and the Austrians in their heavy armour were feeling the heat most sorely. The less-encumbered Swiss broke up their phalanx, and advanced in open order upon the foe, striving everywhere to break the Austrian line and get to work with halberd and mace at close quarters. But the grim array of lances still held them back, and it was only, the story goes, by a self-sacrificing act of deathless renown that the line was broken. As the Swiss surged vainly along the steel barrier there stepped forth a knight named Arnold von Winkelried of Stans in Unterwalden. "Comrades," he cried, "I will make a way for you; take care

of my wife and children!" So saying he gathered two armfuls of Austrian lance-heads and flung his breast upon them. The holders of the lances could not disengage their cumbrous weapons from his body; the Swiss sprang upon them as they struggled and hewed them down, and the line was broken.

Quite probably a breakage occurred at several points; there may have been, as M. Eugène Secretan has put it, *des Winkelrieds sans le savoir*. The line in any case was crumpled up completely, and the heavily-armed and exhausted Austrians were at the mercy of their opponents, who slew them without sparing. Leopold himself rushed into the thick of the fray and perished. Over a hundred knights and five hundred men-at-arms died with him; the broken remnant of the Austrian host fled in complete disorder and sought shelter behind the walls of Sursee.

It is unfortunate that the tale of Winkelried's bravery is unsupported by any absolute proof. Contemporary chronicles do not mention his deed, which is first recorded in the *Sempacher-Lied*, a poem, or rather a compilation of poems, dating at least sixty years after the battle. A Zürich chronicle of 1476 describes the deed but does not name the hero, who, according to this account, survived the battle. The Winkelried tradition did not, indeed, become firmly established until well on in the sixteenth century. The story, nevertheless, is on quite a different footing from that of Tell. There was certainly a Winkelried family at Stans in 1386, and the nature of the battle makes the performance of the deed quite credible. Although the story is not among the incontestable verities of history, there is no reason to shrink from the belief that the impressive monument at Stans, in which Helvetia with uplifted mace strides past the body of the dying hero, is a symbolic image of a real and magnificent act of devotion to a country's cause.

The ultimate effect of the battle of Sempach was not only

to free the Forest cantons from Austrian aggression, but to sever the bonds of the cantons over which Austria had continued to claim direct authority. But Sempach did not end the war. The education of the Austrians was not yet completed; the ability of unarmoured Swiss peasants to hold their own and conquer against tremendous odds was to receive another demonstration.—perhaps the most startling of all.

(*vii.*) *The Battle of Näfels*

Leopold IV. gathered an army immediately after Sempach to avenge the death of his father; but the hostile attitude of the Suabian towns prevented him from carrying out his purpose. Leopold prospered against the towns of Suabia, Franconia and the Rhine, whose leagues he dissolved. But in Switzerland he did not prosper. Bern had been disabled by her treaty with Austria from taking any part in the Sempach campaign. But after Sempach she conceived that her first duty was to the Confederacy, and proceeded to confiscate all the Austrian property she could lay hands upon. The men of Glarus, now on the threshold of their great achievement, declared their independence with the full sanction of the three Forest cantons and of Lucerne, Zürich, and Zug.

The reconquest of Glarus was undertaken by the friends of Austria with considerable spirit in the spring of 1388. Wesen, at the western end of the Walensee and just opposite the opening of the Glarus Valley, was secured in February. On 9th April a body of Austrian troops between 5000 and 6000 strong advanced from Wesen into the valley mouth; while another force of 1500 men climbed the mountains to the east with the idea of dropping down upon the defenders' flank and effecting a junction with the main body.

Two miles up the valley, at Näfels, the invaders found their

way blocked by an entrenchment that stretched right across from hillside to hillside. Here Matthias Vonbühl and 200 men of Glarus were on guard; they strove manfully, but they had to defend a rampart nearly a mile long against a force outnumbering them by twenty-five to one. They retired from the entrenchment and from Näfels—but only a very little distance. Meanwhile the alarm had been given; men came hastening down the valley, and presently Venbühl had under his command a force of 600, including a group of Schwyzers who had been sent over to represent the Confederates. The leader drew up his men on a rocky hill a little way above Näfels, and awaited the Austrians. These were in no hurry. Believing that the day was theirs they looted and burned Näfels and adjoining villages at their leisure; then they straggled lazily up the valley. When passing Venbühl's hill they were greeted, in the Morgarten fashion, by a shower of boulders. They made a disorderly attempt to storm the hill. The Glarus men came furiously down to meet them, thrust them back, and threw the whole Austrian array into confusion. Ten times, it is said, the Austrians reformed and repulsed their foes; ten times the iron-minded little band of mountaineers rallied and renewed the attack. Most wonderful of all, the mountaineers prevailed. Dismayed at last by this dreadful pertinacity, cowed by darkness and snowstorm, the Austrians broke into full retreat for Wesen. The bridge at Wesen broke down under the struggling mass of fugitives and hundreds were drowned. The total loss of the Austrians—enormously increased by the bridge catastrophe—was 2500; that of the men of Glarus and Schwyz was 54.

Meanwhile, what of the Austrian flanking force? They had duly followed their mountain route, and looked from above, through the gathering gloom, upon the spectacle of the main body being shattered and repelled by the mountaineers. Although themselves more than twice as numerous as the foe,

they were smitten with panic, and hastily betook themselves back to the mountains. Thus ended the battle of Näfels, than which there is no more gallant feat of arms in the whole history of warfare.

The unconquerable spirit and military prowess of the Swiss had now been proved to all Europe—most of all to the house of Austria. In April 1389 Leopold IV. concluded a truce of seven years with the Confederates. This was renewed, with more formality, for twenty years, in 1394, and again for fifty years in 1412. The treaty of 1394 was the definitive charter of Swiss freedom from Habsburg interference. The right of Zug and Glarus to membership of the Perpetual League was implicitly recognized. Glarus bought political liberty at the cost of an annual payment of £200; and a bargain in 1395 with the monastery of Säckingen, which sold all its rights in the upper Linth Valley to the men of Glarus, completed the emancipation of this canton. The Habsburgs abandoned all political claims upon Zug and Lucerne, and the latter town gained possession of Sempach and Rothenburg, and, a little later on, of the Entlebuch Valley. Bern's acquisitions at Unterseen (across the Aar from Interlaken), in the upper Simmen Valley, and in the Aargau, were formally confirmed. Finally, Schwyz became protector of its old adversary the monastery of Einsiedeln. Thus the Confederacy was wholly freed from Austrian domination and became politically subject only to the empire. At the same time the rights of the Habsburgs as landowners were carefully guaranteed.

On 1st July 1393 representatives of all the Confederates, with Solothurn, gathered in solemn convention on the hallowed soil of Sempach to give new pledges of their faith. The pact of Sempach bound the contracting parties to maintain peace, security and justice in their territories, not to enter upon a war on their own account and without the allies' consent, to fight to a finish when war was once begun, and not to

pillage until the commanders had given leave. Churches and monastic houses were to be spared, and there was to be no attacking of women—unless the women were themselves assailants, or unless they "cried so loudly as to cause prejudice to our arms." This compact was not a renewal of the Perpetual League; Solothurn was a party to it, and Solothurn did not join the League until nearly a century later. The convention of Sempach was simply an understanding as to the observance of certain rules of peace and war; and the evidence that it gives of a humane spirit rare in these harsh times touches with grace the stern narrative of Switzerland's struggle for freedom. These men were the hardest fighters of their day, and in the clash of combat they gave no quarter. But they warred not against women, save when provoked. This seems rather a narrow standard of humanitarianism. But these were times when too often the name of mercy was unknown.

Both the priests' ordinance of 1370 and the Sempach compact of 1393 mark an advance towards community of internal interests among the Confederates. These advances were intermittent in time and irregular in character, and did not reach their fruition until centuries later. But they all betoken in an ascending scale that the Perpetual League was something more than a simple military alliance. It was by threads such as these that the community of Swiss states was joined together until Switzerland became the firmly-bound Federation that we see to-day.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Solothurn.

Lucerne (Rathhaus, and walls and towers dating from 1385).

Battlefield of Laupen.

Bern—Statue of Rudolph von Erlach.

Gothic Architecture, Early and Middle stages. Chief examples:—

Cathedral of Geneva.

Cathedral of Lausanne.
Cathedral of Basel (part).
Barfüsser-Kirche at Basel (now Historical Museum).
Rapperschwyl.
Gruyères Castle.
Burgdorf.
Battlefield of Sempach (Memorial Chapel and Monument).
Winkelried Monument at Stans.
Battlefield of Näfels.

CHAPTER VI

CONQUEST AND CIVIL WAR

(*i.*) *Appenzell*

At the opening of the fifteenth century the Swiss Confederation, owing to the circumstances recorded in the last chapter, consisted of eight states. The three Forest cantons, Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden, were the nucleus; allied with these three, but not necessarily allied with each other, were the town cantons of Lucerne, Zürich, Bern and Zug, and the rural canton of Glarus. Each state chose two men to represent it at the Diet of the Confederation. This Diet was rather a council of ambassadors than a legislative or administrative body, and its sittings were continually being suspended in order that the delegates might refer to their states for consultation. The vote of a majority did not bind the minority, except in regard to territories governed as subject lands by all the states in common; such territories were presently to be acquired. The whole League, at this time, was German in race and language. That applied even to Bern, in spite of her connection with Burgundy. French-speaking Switzerland was still, for the most part, under the rule of Savoy; but this rule grew weaker with distance from Lake Leman, and the confused jurisdictions of the north-west were gradually being wiped out by the encroachments of Bern.

The entire territory of the eight states, even on the modern footing, accounts for less than a third of the area of twentieth-

century Switzerland. So far it has been necessary to concentrate upon the district which has the Lake of Lucerne for its centre, with occasional glances westwards. But north, east and south of the Confederated area there were neighbouring districts that were forming histories on their own accounts; and since these districts are now parts of the Swiss Republic we are required to give some attention to their affairs.

The first region to be noted is the corner of land north of the Walensee, in the angle between the Rhine, flowing northward from the mountains, and the Lake of Constance. One portion of this land is familiar enough, at any rate at a distance—the Sentis, that craggy outpost of the Alps which looks upon, and is visible from, a vast area of mountain and plain. Beneath the Sentis lie the eastern and western parts of the canton of Appenzell, *Inner-Rhoden* and *Ausser-Rhoden*;[1] the valleys and pastures of *Inner-Rhoden* are the most unsophisticated locality in all Switzerland, a locality where old usages die hard and where the costumes of earlier days are worn, not for display, but as a matter of course. The men of *Inner-Rhoden* still go to their Landsgemeinde in the ancient way, with swords girt to their sides—prepared at once to exert their freedom and to guard it.

The canton of Appenzell is entirely surrounded by that of St Gall, and at the opening of the fifteenth century the Appenzell men were discontented tenants of the great Abbey. The monks had established a church in the mountain region; hence the name *Abts-Zell* (Abbot's Cell), which was too awkward even for Germanic tongues, and was softened into Appenzell. In the middle of the fourteenth century the Abbey of St Gall was in low water financially, and sought to restore itself by levying severe imposts upon its tenants. The Appenzellers naturally struck up a friendship with the citizens of the town of St Gall, which had gradually emancipated itself from the Abbey's rule, had in 1281 become an Imperial free city, and in

[1] The word *Rhoden* is said to mean "clearings."

1354 had adopted a municipal constitution modelled on that of Zürich. In 1379 peace was made between the Abbey and its tenants, and this endured for twenty years.

But in these twenty years the battles of Sempach and Näfels had been fought, and the spirit of the Appenzellers was no whit inferior to that of their Confederate neighbours. The tyranny of the Abbey's bailiffs and the Abbot's relations with the hated house of Austria were sufficient to provoke their wrath, which was fomented by reports of scandalous irregularities among the monks. In 1401 the Appenzellers allied themselves with the town of St Gall and took up arms. The league of Suabian cities succeeded in detaching St Gall from this alliance, and the Appenzellers sought help from the Confederates, who, being then at peace with Austria, declined—all except the Schwyzers, who were always ready to fight anywhere. They sent 300 men to Appenzell, along with a few free-lances from Unterwalden and Glarus.

Austria and the Suabian towns now took up the cause of the Abbey in earnest, and in the May of 1403 an Austrian host left St Gall and lumbered in the usual fatuous way up into the mountains. The mountaineers tried the Morgarten tactics; they lay in wait above a defile at Vogeliseck near Speicher, rolled boulders at the enemy, and sent him back in panic. After this the Confederates, alarmed at the share of Schwyz in this deed of arms, persuaded their warlike colleague to withdraw from the alliance with Appenzell, and made peace between the mountaineers and the Suabian towns. The Abbey, however, was irreconcilable, and in June of 1405 it induced Duke Frederick of Austria to lead an army in person against the Appenzellers. These were still receiving secret aid from Schwyz, and had as an ally the Count of Werdenberg, a dispossessed noble, who entered so thoroughly into the spirit of the affair that he dressed himself as a peasant. Three thousand Austrians marched on 17th June from Altstädten up to

the Stoss Pass, where 400 mountaineers, all bare-footed for the sake of sureness on the wet soil, awaited them. The Appenzellers allowed part of the Austrian army to force its way through an entrenchment drawn across the route; there followed the customary artificial avalanche of boulders and tree-trunks, the customary charge on the disordered enemy, and the customary rout. One cannot but wonder how Swiss history would have been affected if the Austrians had had generals with brains enough to grasp the elements of mountain warfare.

The valorous men of Appenzell now had plenty offers of alliance, but they received an awkward check when they took the aggressive and tried to besiege Bregenz. They refused, however, to admit the Abbey's supremacy, and were placed under the ban of the empire. But in 1411 the Confederates—Bern standing aloof—took Appenzell under their protection; the district shared in the renewed treaty of peace between the Confederates and Austria, and by two stages—in 1429 and 1457—the Appenzellers bought their liberty from the Abbey of St Gall. Appenzell was described as an "ally" of the Confederation, but was really a dependent; her representatives had no voice in the Diet, and she could not go to war without the consent of the seven cantons. In 1455 her position was improved, but she did not enter the Perpetual League as a canton till 1513.

(*ii.*) *Valais*

The Valais (it ought, according to Mr Coolidge and other high authorities, to be spelt "Vallais," but we adhere for convenience to the ordinary form) is probably the region of Switzerland that is best known to British travellers. Hemmed in on either hand by the two mightiest snow-ranges in the Alps, the great dale of the upper Rhone and its lateral valleys give access to the most stupendous mountain scenery in Europe,

and many of the huge peaks on both the Pennine and the Oberland flanks bring to mind brave tales of peaceful but perilous British conquests of rock and glacier.

The Valais, as we have seen, was of interest to the Romans because its lower end was traversed by the St Bernard route. At the time of the invasions this lower end was occupied by Burgundians, the upper end by Allemannic folk; hence the Valaisians above Leuk speak German, those below that point French. The Allemannic newcomers even crossed the Pennines and established themselves here and there on the Italian side. Mr Coolidge, in *The Alps in Nature and History*, has minutely traced out this curious Valaisian leakage over the mountains, tokens of which are manifest in the Italian valleys to this day.

The outstanding figures in the mediæval history of the Valais are the Bishops of Sion, who ruled the Upper Valais with as much authority as the nobles of the region would allow to them, but were gradually pushed out of the Lower Valais by the counts of Savoy, who were the villains of the piece in this region just as the Habsburgs were further north. The boundary between Episcopal Valais and Savoyard Valais was first unofficially and afterwards officially recognized as the River Morges, which flows down from the Sanetsch Pass and joins the Rhone a little below Sion. But Savoy was constantly trying to encroach upon the bishop's territory; and in the fourteenth century we find the bishop aided in his resistance to Savoy, and to the nobles, by communal organizations called collectively the " dizains " or " zehnten." The name has an obvious connection with the numeral ten; yet there were only seven of them in Episcopal Valais—the other three (explained the Abbé Gremaud, the indefatigable Valais historian) were below the Morges, and were snapped up by Savoy. The most prominent of the " dizains " was Sion, which was made a free town by the emperor in 1339. The others consisted not only

of the small towns but of aggregations of villages. These little communities had not only a considerable share in the management of their own affairs, but insisted in taking part with the bishop in the general administration. The bishop, in fact, was a sort of constitutional king.

Two noble families, one after the other, sought to gain supremacy over the Upper Valais. The first was the house of La Tour-Châtillon, who from their castle at Niedergestelen, near Gampel, governed great estates not only in the Valais but in the Bernese Oberland. The Kander Valley and its tributaries belonged to them; so did lands at Brienz, the Lauterbrunnen Valley, and perhaps a portion of that of Grindelwald. A relic of their rule is seen in the pasture of Spitalmatte on the north side of the Gemmi, an area scourged by avalanches into gaunt and dreadful desolation; although Spitalmatte is geographically Bernese, politically it is part of Valais.

Early in the fourteenth century the Bishop of Sion fortified the castle of Tourbillon, on one of the little hills that so picturesquely rise from the dale level, as a defiance to the La Tour family and Savoy. The La Tours accepted the challenge and brought an army of their Oberland vassals across the Gemmi in 1318; the "dizains" rallied to the bishop's support and defeated the invaders heavily at Leuk. But the accession in 1342 of a bishop of Savoyard sympathies, Guichard de Tavelli, gave an opportunity to the enemy without. Sion fell into the hands of Savoy, and the "dizains," although they gained recognition of their rights from the emperor in 1354, were hard pressed to hold their own. A distraction, however, was caused by a furious quarrel between the bishop and his nephew, Antoine, head of the house of La Tour. The brutal murder in 1365 of Antoine's friends, the Count of Biandrate and his mother, made the strife still more bitter, and when it had been dragged out for ten years longer Antoine determined to end it

by a summary stroke. As the bishop and his chaplain were saying mass in the episcopal castle of La Soie, near Sion, they were seized by hired assassins and hurled to death over the steep rocks on which the castle was reared.

This outrage revived all the sympathy of the people with the Bishop. The "dizains," having made an alliance with the Forest states, who promptly sent them aid, seized Antoine's strongholds and drove him in flight to the court of Savoy. Some years afterwards, in 1388—the year of Näfels—a Savoyard army under the Count of Gruyères invaded the Upper Valais as far as Visp, but there the Valaisians, under Peter of Raron, surprised them by night and slew 4000 of them. The Savoyards, however, clung on to Sion and Sierre, and were only got out by the payment of a heavy indemnity. As for the house of La Tour-Châtillon, it was never heard of in the Valais again. The last male member of the family sold his property at Lauterbrunnen and Brienz to the Abbey of Interlaken in 1395, and his estates in the Kander Valley to Bern in 1400.

But if the La Tours had been banished from the Valais the Rarons remained; and with William of Raron as Bishop of Sion, and his uncle Guichard as resolute temporal administrator, the Valaisians deemed their last state worse than their first. There is the authority of a Valais historian for giving an explanation of Guichard's unpopularity that is not discreditable to him. The Valaisians, as modern travellers may have noticed, are not a very tidy people, and have a lack of olfactory sensitiveness that sometimes distresses the visitor from afar. Guichard tried to introduce sanitary reforms; he objected to dung-heaps at street doors, he forbade the washing of dirty linen in drinking-water, and passed other meddlesome ordinances that roused the manly spirit of the Valaisians to revolt. It must be added in fairness that the Rarons were showing

Church and Castle of Valère, Sion

dangerous Savoyard sympathies. In 1414 the *mazze* was sent round. The *mazze* was the Valaisian equivalent of the fiery cross; it was a huge club, the head of which was carved into the likeness of a lugubrious countenance. The usage was for the passer-by to ask it why it looked so miserable. Was it this or that? The club gave no sign. Was it Raron? The club bowed in assent. At length the *mazze* and its bearers, accompanied by an armed mob, reached Guichard's castle at Raron, to find that Guichard had taken flight.

Guichard sought help from Savoy and Bern; the Valaisians allied themselves with Uri, Unterwalden and Lucerne. The neutral cantons of Schwyz, Zürich, Glarus and Zug, alarmed at the threatened split in the Confederation, tried ineffectively to make peace. Bern, hungering after territory, invaded the Valais both east and west. The main army of 13,000 crossed the Grimsel in October 1419, and was surprised at Ulrichen, right at the head of the Rhone Valley, by a few hundred Valaisians under the peasant Thomas Riedi and the priest Jacques Minichow. Riedi achieved prodigies of valour and died gloriously on the field; the Bernese were compelled to retreat. The western invaders were likewise repulsed near Sion, and, except for a success on the snow slopes of the Lötschen Pass, the Bernese arms gained no lustre in the campaign against the Valais.

Bern, nevertheless, prepared to take still stronger measures. But the neutral cantons again intervened and induced Bern and the Raron family to accept money indemnities. In 1425 the " dizains " gained new liberties from the bishop, including the right to be consulted as to the appointment of officials; soon afterwards they participated in the election of the bishop himself. The Upper Valais was more like a constitutional monarchy than ever; and, fortified by its alliance with the Forest states, it was in readiness, when the time came, for a final tussle with its enemies of Savoy.

(*iii.*) *The Rhætian Leagues*

The history of Rhætia (the Swiss canton now generally known by its French name of Grisons, although it is the portion of Switzerland most remote from French language and influence) presents striking parallels with that of the Valais, and indeed with that of the Forest states themselves. In all cases there occurs the organization of small communities with the object of holding their own against feudal and episcopal encroachments. But whereas the Valais is simply one long dale with tributaries, Rhætia is an exceedingly complicated region. For political purposes we have to take four main valleys into account—the Vorder Rhein, the Hinter Rhein, the Engadine or upper valley of the Inn, and the Landquart Valley or Prättigau. More than that, there were included in Rhætia, and are now to some extent included in Grisons, certain valleys south of the main chain of the Alps, which in this region was hardly in the nature of a boundary or barrier at all.

The personages on whom it is advisable to keep one's eye fixed in tracing out the story of this tangled area are the bishops of Coire. The Roman town of Curia, situated a little way below the junction of the two upper Rhines, and the natural starting-point of a main route across the Alps, held the most dominant position in all Rhætia. From the time of Theodoric to that of Charlemagne the ecclesiastical and temporal rule of Rhætia was mostly in the hands of a great family called the Victoriden. Charlemagne made the district into a duchy; afterwards the feudal system laid hold upon it, but in Rhætia feudalism took a definitely ecclesiastical turn. As early as 831 the Bishop of Coire gained entire control under the empire (except in criminal justice) of all the lands in his possession. Gradually these prelates, with Imperial support, acquired possession of the Hinter Rhein Valley, of the Vorder

Rhein as far as Flims, of the Engadine, and on the south side of the Alps of Chiavenna and the Val Bregaglia, of the Val di Poschiavo, of the Vintschgau or Upper Adige Valley, and of its tributary the Münster Valley. Much of this Cisalpine territory was seized in the fourteenth century by the Visconti of Milan, but was for the most part recovered by the Rhætian Leagues at various times later on.

Parallel with this advance of Coire was that of the two great monastic houses of Pfäfers and Disentis. The Abbey of Pfäfers, which received its privileges in 831 along with the Bishop of Coire, owned much land round about Ragatz and in various parts of Rhætia, and also in the Thurgau between Zürich and the Lake of Constance. Disentis obtained its privileges in 1048; it ruled most of the Vorder Rhein Valley and the Urseren Valley—the upper end of the Reuss Valley—on the way from Uri to the St Gotthard. The Landquart Valley was a fief of the counts of Toggenburg.

The episcopal and monastic rule was disputed, in Grisons as in the Valais, by various secular landowners. The counts of Tyrol, towards the end of the thirteenth century, appropriated the Lower Engadine and the Vintschgau. The bishops of Coire, however, were very distinctly of the Church militant in the most literal sense of the term. They challenged the nobility by asserting their right to criminal jurisdiction over the episcopal estates, and the nobles, Vaz and Mætsch, who had held this jurisdiction, were pushed aside. Donat de Vaz furiously resented the deprivation; he waged war against the bishop, and was winning when he died without leaving an heir in 1323.

Forty years later the house of Austria acquired Tyrol and made its new possession a vantage ground for encroachments upon Rhætia. The bishops of Coire inclined to Austria's side, hoping to gain aid against the restiveness of the Rhætian nobles and people. The Bishop Peter, who reigned at this

time, gave further offence by neglecting his diocese and leading an easy life at Innsbrück. The various groups of his subjects —the citizens of Coire, the anti-Austrian nobles, the episcopal tenants, and the little bodies of Germanic freemen, mostly from the Valais, who had been settled in Rhætia by various emperors with the object of guarding the passes—began to confer as to common action. The example of the Swiss Confederation and the Valaisian " dizains " had not been lost upon Rhætia. On 29th January 1367 representatives from all the bishop's lands, actual and claimed, including the Cisalpine valleys of Poschiavo and Münster, assembled and formed the League of God's House (Gotteshausbund). The central provision of their treaty was an agreement that the League must insist upon being consulted regarding the appointment of civil administrators of the episcopal territories. The League asserted itself so boldly that the bishops made no effort to repress it; on the contrary, in 1392, Bishop Hartmann himself became head of the League.

In 1395 a league of a different character was formed in the valley of the Vorder Rhein. This district was especially plagued by feuds of the nobility, and in the year named the three chief landowners of the district—the Abbot of Disentis and the lords of Sax and Räzuns—concluded a treaty with the object of keeping order and ensuring justice. Gradually one noble after another entered the League, which was called the Counts' League (*Grafenbund* or *Graubund*). The word *grau* has caused the curious misapprehension that the League was called the Grey League, from the colour of the coats worn by its members; hence the name Grisons, really a misnomer. In March 1424 the League was broadened in its basis by the admission of representatives of a dozen village communities; the Leaguers swore under a maple tree at Trons to guard each other's interests, and a council of fifteen was appointed to settle disputes and see that the terms of the treaty were ob-

served. The maple tree survived until 1870, when it was blown down by a gale; the remains of it are faithfully preserved in the court of justice at Trons.

The third Rhætian League, the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, was formed in the Landquart Valley on the extinction of its owners, the house of Toggenburg, in 1435. This League had a democratic character from the outset, and succeeded in gaining its liberties, partly by pressure and partly by purchase, from the nobles who disputed the Toggenburg inheritance. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the three Leagues drew gradually together; at length they began to send representatives to Diets, and formed a Confederation of their own, somewhat on the model of the Perpetual League. But the great days of the Rhætian Leagues did not come until the end of the century, when the famous fighting men of the Swiss Confederacy came as allies to help Rhætia to fight for its life against the ancient Austrian foe.

(*iv.*) *The Conquest of Aargau*

At the opening of the fifteenth century the Swiss Confederation presented the most cheerful spectacle in Europe. Most of the continent was in a thoroughly unsettled condition; the feudal system was breaking down in disorder, the rule of the empire was becoming constantly feebler and more shadowy, the papacy was degenerate, the kings had not yet wholly shaken off feudal encumbrances and asserted the absolutism that was to prove so valuable a tonic to the nations. Amid all this tumult it is pleasing to turn to the almost independent little Swiss communities, holding stoutly to a liberty won by splendid deeds of war, loyal each to the other in the hour of danger—giving a clear vision, in the darkness of the time, of a people free, simple and strong in arms.

But it was not to be expected that this martial-idyllic phase of Swiss history would endure. The heroic age of Switzerland was far from ended. But the later part of it, upon which we are now entering, was an era not of defence but of conquest. The Swiss were at this time the most renowned warriors in Europe; they knew their power, and were ready to profit by it. It was to be anticipated that the Swiss would seek to extend their boundaries. Since, moreover, each canton governed itself and aimed at advancing its own interests, it was inevitable that the advantage of the individual state should conflict with the common advantage, and that the Confederates should find it a difficult and sometimes an impossible task to avoid dissensions among themselves.

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century we find the Swiss waging aggressive campaigns in north and south. That in the north resulted in the permanent acquisition by the Confederacy of subject lands. The opportunity for it—one might say the temptation—came in 1415. The Emperor Sigismund had quarrelled with Frederick of Austria owing to that potentate's support of a papal claimant to whom Sigismund objected. Frederick was put under the ban of the empire, and the emperor invited the Swiss to seize Frederick's territories. They hesitated; only three years before they had concluded a fifty years' peace with Austria. But it was pointed out that the ban destroyed all engagements of this character. Besides, it became clear that if the Swiss did not seize Frederick's domains in the Aargau somebody else would. Imperial troops ravaged the Thurgau, and the Count of Toggenburg was appropriating all the territory he could lay hands upon. So Bern threw aside all scruples and invaded the Aargau; the other Confederates followed suit.

There was no indecision about the campaign when once it was begun. The Aargau was overrun from end to end, and all resistance was ruthlessly trampled down. To Bern

belonged the distinction of seizing the two spots most precious to Austria—the Abbey of Königsfelden and Habsburg Castle itself, the ancestral home of the family. In the sacking of the castle many documents were burnt that would, if preserved, have made mediæval Swiss history a much clearer matter than it actually is. Bern took a very considerable share of the conquered lands for herself, and Lucerne and Zürich also acquired properties of their own. The rest was administered by the Confederates in common through their Diet. The Swiss, so ardently mindful of their own freedom, had no care for that of the Aargau people. They ruled the land frankly as conquerors, and the substitution of Swiss for Austrian rule was of little benefit to the inhabitants. The Aargau territories were governed by bailiffs appointed by the Diet; these appointments came in time to be the perquisite of certain families, and hence arose a privileged official class whose existence was quite contrary to the early spirit of Confederate polity.

(*v.*) *The War with Milan*

In this not very laudable Aargau campaign one canton, Uri, took a comparatively small part. Uri was shut off from the north by her fellow-Confederates; her eyes were turned southwards across the St Gotthard. The men of the canton frequently crossed the Pass and did a considerable business with cattle and cheese in the market of Varese. Thus the Val Leventina, or Ticino Valley, winding down from the St Gotthard to Lake Maggiore, was quite familiar ground to them. Once, indeed, in the fourteenth century, they had appeared there in arms. There were complaints of the robbery of Swiss at Varese, and a body of Confederates, chiefly men of Uri, raided the Ticino Valley as far as Faido. A treaty was concluded and the invaders withdrew.

In 1402 a very similar incident occurred in the Varese market. Swiss cattle-dealers declared that they had been robbed, and the men of Uri, with the support of Obwalden, crossed once more into the Val Leventina, this time with the intention of staying there. They were well received. The Val Leventina and all the neighbouring valleys were in the hands of Milan, ruled at that time by the powerful house of the Visconti. Gian Visconti, the master of Milan, was one of the choicest ruffians of his age; the Ticino people were only too glad to get out of his clutches, and readily swore allegiance to the Swiss invaders. To get to the new Cisalpine territories the men of Uri had to traverse the Urseren Valley, the upper valley of the Reuss, which belonged, as already stated, to the Abbey of Disentis; the Urseren people did not, and the Abbey presumably could not, object to these intrusions. In 1410 Uri regularized matters somewhat by making an alliance with Urseren, which ultimately became part of Uri.

Certain cattle-lifting exploits by the inhabitants of the valley of Ossola at the expense of the Ticino people led to the annexation of that valley and its tributaries, lying to the west of Ticino, by the Swiss in 1410. The whole Confederacy, except Bern, took part in this operation; the Ossola Valley was closely connected by the Simplon and other passes with the Valais, and the Confederates anticipated the trouble that broke out in that region, as we have seen, four years later. In the next few years the valley changed hands repeatedly. The Swiss were driven out by the local nobles but came back again. In 1414 Gian Visconti, who was not just then in fighting form, sold the valley to the Count of Savoy, who expelled the Swiss; but again they returned and held the valley until 1422, the year of Arbedo.

In 1419 the Swiss strengthened their position in Ticino by buying Bellinzona from its landlord, the Rhætian baron of Sax Misox or Sax Misocco. The sovereign rights of the Duke of

Milan were entirely ignored. That potentate, meanwhile, was biding his time. In 1422 he got together an army of 24,000, and sent it north, under the fine General Carmagnola, with instructions to clear the Swiss out once and for all. The Swiss forces were scattered; they suffered from divided counsels—the Confederates were not agreeing very well together; and they were but little prepared for fighting when Carmagnola, with 18,000 of his troops, fell upon 3000 Swiss at Arbedo, a little north of Bellinzona, at the point where the Val Misocco joins the Leventina. The Swiss were adepts at fighting against odds; but they liked to choose the ground, and this time the ground was chosen by Carmagnola. Nevertheless, from morn to eve of 30th June 1422 the Swiss fought with desperate valour. At sunset the arrival of a reinforcement of 600 men enabled them to retreat with dignity. But the battle was a disaster none the less. The Swiss recrossed the St Gotthard, discomfited and quarrelling among themselves, and Milanese supremacy was once more established throughout the Cisalpine valleys.

The canton of Schwyz was unenthusiastic about the Italian wars, and made disagreeable comments on harum-scarum adventures across the Alps. Nevertheless it was a Schwyzer, Petermann Rysig by name, who in 1426 led 500 men in a forlorn attempt to recapture the Ossola Valley. The attempt succeeded at first by sheer audacity; but Rysig, as might be expected, landed himself in hopeless difficulties. The Swiss were intensely concerned about getting him out again. Appenzell, the Count of Toggenburg, the Bishop of Coire, and the Valais all contributed to the great army of 22,000 men that the Confederates sent to the rescue. The Duke of Milan did not feel equal to armed resistance, but he got rid of the invaders by ingenious diplomacy and lavish expenditure, and for a time the Swiss remained on their own side of the Alps.

In 1440 the Visconti family was in difficulties and nearing

the end of its career. The men of Uri saw their opportunity, again crossed the St Gotthard and possessed themselves of the Ticino Valley, and this time were not forced to relinquish it. Until 1798 Ticino remained a dependency of the Swiss.

(*vi.*) *Zürich against the Confederates.*

The looseness of the ties between the Confederates, and their varying and sometimes conflicting interests, made quarrels between them inevitable sooner or later. We have already seen evidences of touchiness, and noted how pressure had to be applied by neutral cantons to prevent disturbances —as in the case of Bern's support of Guichard of Raron in the Valais. But no actual breach occurred until, after 1435, two cantons disputed possession of the same territory.

In 1435 Count Frederick VII. of Toggenburg died without leaving an heir or a will. He was the last of the great feudal nobles of German Switzerland. His family owned wide estates in the Toggenburg Valley west of Appenzell, around the Lake of Zürich, and in Rhætia; Frederick had added to these estates at the expense of the house of Austria. He judiciously kept on good terms with the Confederates—such very good terms that when in 1429 his Toggenburg subjects rose in revolt Zürich and Schwyz actually helped him to suppress them. His death was followed by a general scramble for his possessions. One consequence of it, as we have seen, was the formation of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions on the Toggenburg estates in Rhætia. Another, as we shall now see, was the outbreak of the first Swiss civil war.

Zürich and Schwyz both coveted certain Toggenburg lands to the south of the Lake of Zürich. The dispute might have been adjusted had it not been for the personal rivalry of two strong men. Rudolph Stüssi, burgomaster of Zürich, was a

full-blown demagogue—of gigantic physical stature, violent in temper, impatient of opposition, a man of boundless influence with the multitude. Against this tempestuous figure we have to set the patrician restraint, the reflective craft, and the inflexible will of Ital von Reding, Landammann of Schwyz.

These two men represented their states in the Diet and quarrelled as a matter of course. The Confederates strove long and vainly to adjust the difficulty; at length, in 1437 and 1438, the Schwyzers, with the support of Glarus, annexed the territories in dispute. Zürich retaliated by closing her markets to the people of Schwyz and Glarus. War had actually begun in 1439 when Uri and Unterwalden intervened and secured a year's truce. The interval was spent by Zürich in fierce internal feuds. There was a strong anti-war party in the city, headed by the new burgomaster, Rudolph Meiss; but the fiery Stüssi carried the day, Meiss was cast into prison, and in 1440 the markets were closed again and the war began. Uri and Unterwalden were no longer neutral; the closing of the markets was deemed by them a breach of the Confederate compact, and they joined their forces with these of Schwyz. This unexpected development paralysed Zürich's resistance. The Schwyzers secured the lands they sought on the south of the lake, and the city was compelled to reopen her markets.

Stüssi now resorted to the expedient of his predecessor Brun—an alliance with the ancient Austrian enemy. In 1438 the Habsburgs had secured the Imperial throne, and, except for brief intervals, they never lost it again. Stüssi approached the Habsburg emperor, Frederick III., and in June 1442 secured a treaty with him by which Zürich obtained Austrian support in return for the city's aid in the recovery of the Aargau. Later in the year the emperor visited Zürich in full state; the inhabitants welcomed him with enthusiasm, and donned the Austrian emblems—the peacock's plume and red cross—in his honour. The feelings of the Confederates at

this intrigue with Switzerland's worst foe may be imagined. It was true that the terms of the Confederate compact allowed Zürich to make alliances with whom she pleased; but none the less this league with Austria appeared to the Swiss as an act of signal and detestable treachery. In the spring of 1443 the whole Confederacy united its forces against Zürich. The Swiss defeated their adversaries in several engagements, then characteristically went home for the hay harvest; in July, the harvest over, they advanced upon Zürich itself.

The Austrian commander advised that the city should endure a siege. But Stüssi impetuously led his forces across the River Sihl to meet the enemy in the open. The battle was fought in what is now a suburb of Zürich, and resulted in the rout of the defenders, who poured in tumult across the Sihl bridge towards the shelter of the town, only a little distance beyond the bridge. The moat, still in existence, shows the line of the fortifications. The Confederates raced to the bridge after the fugitives; but in the middle of it they were confronted by the gigantic figure of Stüssi, wielding his huge battle-axe, prepared for martyrdom on his city's behalf. Against the whole power of the foe, Stüssi, Horatius-like, held the bridge until it broke down and plunged him to his death in the stream below—a sinister career superbly ended.

The Swiss made their way across the river and rushed for the city gate; through the presence of mind of a woman, Anna Ziegler, wife of the gate warden, the portcullis was lowered in the nick of time and the city was saved. The Confederates were not equipped for a siege; they plundered the neighbourhood and withdrew. During the winter certain bishops and nobles offered their services as peacemakers and the anti-war party in Zürich raised its head again; but Stüssi's supporters were still in the ascendant, and the leaders of the opposition were seized and beheaded. This was a stimulus to the wrath of the Confederates when they renewed the campaign in 1444.

They opened hostilities by attacking the little fortress of Greifensee, held by a handful of 80 men or so. For four weeks the tiny garrison maintained a most gallant resistance; then it surrendered, and Reding, in pursuit of revenge for his friends in Zürich, mercilessly caused all the defenders, or nearly all of them, to be put to death. It was a grave stain upon what had hitherto been an honourable reputation. The Confederates then proceeded to the formal siege of Zürich. But sieges were not their strong point, and the city more than held its own.

(*vii.*) *St Jacques on the Birse*

At this stage a new and most potent influence enters upon Swiss history, and enters in a manner intensely dramatic. Frederick III. came to the conclusion that it was absolutely hopeless for Austrians to oppose Swiss; but he did not wish to desert Zürich, and on Zürich's and his own behalf he invoked the power of France. The appeal happened to suit the convenience of the French king, Charles VII. By the aid of Joan of Arc France had shaken off the English occupation, and the country was now being overrun and desolated by hordes of unemployed soldiery. It occurred to Charles that these adventurers, who went by the name of Armagnacs after a commander in the war with England, might be disposed of by sending them to help his Austrian brother, and incidentally to seize the city of Basel, which was coveted by France for its strategic value. Frederick had asked for 5000 men; Charles sent 40,000, with the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., at their head Their instructions were to occupy Basel, relieve Zürich, and destroy the Swiss Confederacy. Plainly Charles VII. had other and less disinterested schemes than that of supporting Frederick.

On 21st August 1444 the citizens of Basel watched the

approach of the vanguard of this mighty host—all hardened and ruthless campaigners, to whom war was a very necessity. Nor were the Austrians inactive; they were meanwhile concentrating in force at Säckingen on the Rhine. The Confederates do not seem to have realized the immensity of their peril. Most of them were besieging Zürich; others were attacking Farnsburg, where a truculent noble had been causing them trouble. Thirteen hundred men, belonging to all the seven cantons and to Neuchâtel, were detached from the Farnsburg army to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Basel and take up a position of defence. They were joined by 200 men from the country round Basel. This little band of 1500 advanced on the morning of 26th August from Liestal towards the positions the French had taken up on the Birse, the small stream that flows northward through Basel to the Rhine.

Driving the French outposts before them, the Swiss—still unconscious of the might they were opposing—advanced gaily towards Basel, taking no heed of the warnings the citizens contrived to send them. Then, as they neared the Birse, the nature of the opposition was revealed. The Armagnacs hurried up in their thousands to the scene of action; the Swiss found themselves confronting a vast army. They strove desperately and failed—there was nothing for it but retreat, and they turned back. But the retreat was cut off. Near at hand was a building to which the French had shudderingly given a wide berth—the leper hospital of St Jacques. The Swiss, not knowing or not caring about the dreadful character of the place, seized it and manned its outer walls; the French forgot their fears of contagion in the lust of battle and attacked with fury. Twice the Swiss repulsed them and sallied out to deliver counter attacks. They were forced back, and around the walls of the hospital there raged a long and fearful conflict that was only ended at sunset

because the Swiss could fight no longer. Of the 1500 men who had marched that morning from Liestal, 1300 lay dead on the field.

This was the battle of St Jacques on the Birse, a Swiss defeat as glorious as any Swiss victory. The war-hardened Armagnacs had never seen such fighting as this. They had lost over 2000, and the Dauphin, realizing that if a handful of Swiss were so hard to conquer the Swiss nation itself must be unconquerable, abandoned the campaign. He was content to have caused the raising of the siege of Zürich; he did not even try to capture Basel. From that time forward Louis had a profound respect for the Swiss; he was even, in his way, friendly towards them—a doubtful privilege, for the friendship of Louis XI. was at least as dangerous as his enmity.

The war of the Confederates with Zürich and Austria lasted, in an intermittent way, two years longer. A Confederate victory at Ragatz brought an end to the struggle; long negotiations followed, and in 1450 peace was declared. Zürich renounced her Austrian alliance, and regained most, but not all, of the territory that Schwyz and Glarus had claimed from her. The reconciliation was sealed by festivities at Zürich in 1454, attended by leading men from all the Confederate states.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Appenzell—Vogeliseck and Stoss Pass.

Valais—Ruins of Tourbillon Castle (Sion) and Niedergestelen Castle (Gampel), Battlefields of Visp and Ulrichen, Gemmi and Lötschen Passes, Raron.

Grisons—Coire, Trons, Abbeys of Disentis and Pfäfers, Monument of the union of the Rhætian Leagues near Tiefenkastell.

Cathedral and Town Hall of Bern.

Varese.

Battlefield and Churchyard of St Paul at Arbedo.
Greifensee.
Sihl Bridge and Moat at Zürich.
Basel—Spalen-Thor (mediæval gateway) and Monument of the Battle of St Jacques on the Birse.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREAT CAMPAIGNS

(*i.*) *The Intrigues of Charles the Bold*

DURING the years that followed the events just narrated the Swiss took an active and profitable concern in the affairs of their neighbours. Their alliance was sought on all hands, and was granted on varying conditions. The town of Bienne, the town of St Gall, and the Abbey of St Gall, were allowed to have one representative each on the Diet. Appenzell was admitted in 1452 to a perpetual league with several of the cantons but not to full cantonal rank. One or more of the Confederates were in alliance with the Valais, Schaffhausen, Mühlhausen in Alsace, Neuchâtel and other places. Constance offended the Confederates and was punished. The Austrian towns of Rapperschwyl and Stein were seized in defiance of the fifty years' truce of 1412. This truce expired in 1462, and soon afterwards the Duke Sigismund of Austria fell out with the pope and was excommunicated. The Confederates took the opportunity to overrun the Thurgau, the Austrian lowland territory between Zürich and the Lake of Constance. The land was annexed and ruled after the manner of the Aargau. Only Winterthur now remained to the Duke of Austria south of the Rhine, and this faithful town was bought by Zürich in 1467.

Mühlhausen and Schaffhausen had trouble with neighbouring nobles in 1467 and 1468. The Swiss intervened; Duke

Sigismund bargained with them, and they withdrew on receiving from the Duke favourable terms for the two towns and a promise to pay 10,000 florins to the Confederates in ten months. The town of Waldshout and the Black Forest were handed to the Swiss as security for the payment. Sigismund was at his wits' end to know how to get the money. He applied to Louis, now King of France, but was repulsed and recommended to try Charles the Bold, who had just succeeded to the Dukedom of Burgundy. This potentate was more accommodating. He lent Sigismund 50,000 florins, taking Alsace as security; Sigismund undertook to promote the marriage of Charles's daughter Maria to the emperor's son, Maximilian, and Charles, on his part, promised to give Sigismund any aid he might require against the Confederates—and this although Charles was the ally of several of them. It seemed an excellent bargain; its full excellence was only perceived by Louis XI., who had in fact arranged the whole affair for his own purposes.

This was the beginning of a most complicated intrigue which affords a choice study in fifteenth-century diplomacy. The protagonists were Louis XI. and his great vassal the Duke of Burgundy. Louis's object, which he achieved, was to destroy feudalism and replace it with absolute monarchy. His chief adversary, the vassal who sought to be a king in his own right, was Charles the Bold — or, more accurately, the Rash. Charles's Burgundy was not the Burgundian kingdom with which we had some confusing concern in an earlier chapter; it was a dukedom and a fief of France. Charles was also count of the detached portion of Burgundy called Franche Comté, and in that capacity owned allegiance only to the emperor. The Netherlands he possessed as inheritor of his father's cousin, the hapless Jacqueline of Bavaria; Alsace he had acquired by his deal with Sigismund; he was laying hands upon Lorraine; he had designs upon the duchy of Milan. His aim was to rule a great middle kingdom, stretching from the North

Sea to the Mediterranean. He had many of the qualities for success in such an enterprise—but not all. He was ambitious, masterful and wealthy, daring in his plans and ruthless in their execution. There was something Napoleonic about his conceptions. But Napoleon's large designs were fulfilled with a scrupulous and profound care for tactical details. Charles was no tactician either in policy or in war. In action, whether diplomatic or martial, this man of vast schemes became a mere impetuous blunderer.

The design of Louis XI. was to embroil Charles with the empire and Austria, and to expose him to the attack of the Swiss. The *entente* between Charles and Sigismund, as Louis had foreseen, did not last long. But it was very discomposing to the Swiss while it lasted. Sigismund, having received his 50,000 florins from Charles, induced the emperor to cancel the debt of 10,000 florins to the Confederates. These, meanwhile, were seriously perturbed at the ambitions of Charles. It is exceedingly doubtful whether Charles intended to attack the Confederacy. But in Bern, which took the diplomatic lead in these concerns, the belief was very strong that Switzerland was in danger, and alarm was encouraged by the emissaries of Louis. Chief of the anti-Burgundian party in Bern was Nicholas von Diesbach; undoubtedly he was honest in his beliefs, but equally undoubtedly he received French money for himself and his friends. Adrian von Bubenberg fervently opposed Diesbach and warned his countrymen against entanglement in the designs of Louis. Bubenberg was a far-seeing man; not only was the high-handed bungler Charles far less dangerous than Louis, but French influence on Switzerland was destined in the future to be a most sinister influence. But the more palpable peril obsessed men's minds, and Bubenberg upheld an unpopular cause.

Swiss opinion was now exasperated by the cruelties of Peter Hagenbach, Charles's brutal governor in Alsace. Hagenbach

treated the Imperial towns—including the Confederates' ally Mühlhausen—with an utter disregard for their rights, and they longed for the return of Austria. In the autumn of 1473 Charles fell out with the Emperor Frederick III., whom he had asked to Trèves to place a crown upon the ducal head—for Charles's ambitions had now extended that far. Frederick had apparently no intention of bestowing the crown; anyhow, he stole surreptitiously away from Trèves, alleging Charles's arrogance as an excuse. Frederick's quarrel had its effect upon his relative Sigismund, and events in Alsace tended to embroil the Austrian Duke with the Burgundian. The Alsatians rose in the spring of 1474, seized Hagenbach, and put him to death. The way seemed open for Sigismund to recover Alsace.

Louis, who had been pulling all the strings of these intrigues, now achieved the cleverest stroke of all. He procured an alliance between the Swiss and their ancient Austrian enemy; the common Burgundian peril acted as the cement for this strange union. Sigismund promptly denounced his debt to Charles of 50,000 florins. The Alsatians raised the sum among themselves, but Charles, who was now in a thoroughly bad temper, refused to take it. Louis saw that the critical moment had come. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Confederates, who, with France and Austria, declared war upon Burgundy in the autumn of 1474.

The first phase of the Burgundian war was wholly eclipsed by the later phase. The Swiss, who were heavily subsidized by Louis during the campaign, joined with the Austrians in capturing Héricourt, near Belfort, and Pontarlier. These and other successes had the effect of securing Alsace to Sigismund, who then coolly made peace with Charles without consulting his Swiss allies at all. A little later the emperor was reconciled to Charles; finally, in September 1475, Louis himself concluded a treaty with Burgundy, in which, among other things, he undertook to lend no further aid to the Swiss.

(*ii.*) *Grandson and Morat—Charles's Fall*

The Confederates, left in the lurch by their unscrupulous allies, had now to face the might of Burgundy alone. They were angry, but not in the least frightened. Charles had an alliance with the house of Savoy by which he had military access to the Great St Bernard Pass. Without delay the Swiss struck at the house of Savoy. Its dominions in Vaud were raided from end to end in October 1475 by the forces of Bern and Freiburg; Geneva and Lausanne were compelled to pay ransoms. The "dizains" of the Upper Valais, helped by Bern, seized the Savoyard or Lower Valais, held it permanently, and ruled it with a rod of iron. Charles the Bold did not intervene on behalf of his allies of Savoy. He was conquering Lorraine; he entered Nancy in triumph at the end of November, and not till then did he turn his thoughts to the Swiss. He left Nancy on 11th January 1476 to attend to affairs in Switzerland and Savoy. His aim was to recover for Savoy the territories seized by the Bernese and Valaisians. The campaign upon which the Swiss were about to enter was not a war of defence, but a war for the retention of newly-conquered territories.

The season was winter, and Charles, who went to the fray with a pomp and circumstance renowned even in those lavish days, moved very slowly. February was well advanced ere he and his 30,000 men saw the waters of the Lake of Neuchâtel. He found an obstruction at Grandson, a little town near the south-west corner of the lake, garrisoned by 412 Bernese. The duke caused these men to be informed that they had no hope of rescue, and promised to spare their lives if they surrendered. They surrendered accordingly, and Charles massacred the whole body, except two, who were chosen to be their comrades' executioners. This atrocity had its effect upon the martial

wrath of the Swiss, who had gathered a force of 18,000 men, over 7000 of whom came from Bern. At the beginning of March this force advanced southwards from Neuchâtel, about twenty miles distant, in the direction of Grandson.

About six miles north of Grandson the lowland between lake and mountain is narrowed by the projection of a spur of Mont Aubert. Vaumarcus, by the lake just north of the narrows, was occupied by a Burgundian outpost. To the south of the narrows, between Concise and Grandson, Charles's army occupied a strong defensive position, with excellent sites for artillery. The Swiss army was divided into three columns. One was to attack Vaumarcus. The second was to advance upon the Burgundians by the inland route, the old Roman road called the Vy de l'Etraz, which kept away from the lake and hugged the base of the spur. The third, which included most of the men from the Forest cantons, ascended the Val de Travers, the deep limestone trench—like a magnified Derbyshire dale—down which the trains travel between Pontarlier and Bern. Their mission was to cross the mountains and take the Burgundians in flank.

On the morning of 2nd March 1476 the Swiss advanced towards the narrows; and Charles, who was constitutionally incapable of remaining on the defensive, abandoned his fine position and went out to meet them. The first Swiss division made no progress at all against Vaumarcus, and most of them responded to the call of their comrades inland to join in the lively work that was proceeding on the Vy de l'Etraz. The second Swiss division, thus reinforced, drove back the advance guard of the enemy, stoutly withstood an attack by the main body, and then pressed hotly forward in their turn. Charles ordered a retreat to his defensive positions, hoping to get the Swiss at a disadvantage. But an order to retreat in the thick of conflict is apt to be misunderstood; the Burgundians thought that they were being beaten. And just when this idea

Castle of Grandson (Lake of Neuchâtel)

Mediæval Inn at Treib, Lake of Lucerne

was entering into their minds the division from the Val de Travers appeared on the hillside. At its head were two trumpeters wearing horned heads of oxen—denoting the bull of Uri and the cow of Unterwalden. These weird objects no doubt had their effect on the shaken nerves of the Burgundians. They were seized with panic, and collapsed before the charge of the Forest men; the whole army broke and ran away in helpless rout. Charles strove desperately to rally them; he failed, and rode off despairingly after his shattered host. The Vaumarcus garrison bolted across the hills and saved itself; that of Grandson was captured and slain even as the Bernese had been slain three days before.

The booty was enormous, as the museums of Switzerland testify. The best artillery in Europe fell into the hands of the Swiss; arms, armour and enormous stores were left to them also. But the chief wonder was Charles's own equipment—his silken tents, his splendid furniture and vessels, his portable altar—a wondrous relic—and his jewels. Charles's great diamond was picked up by a Swiss soldier and sold by him to a village priest for about half a crown. After several other sales it was bought for 20,000 ducats by Pope Julius II., who placed it in his tiara.

Charles's despair after Grandson soon gave way to angry surprise. The defeat of his army by a body of peasants was regarded by him as a mere fluke of war; he would debate the issue with the Swiss again and assuredly conquer them. So he gathered a fresh army at Lausanne, and strengthened it with 6000 English archers, who caused him considerable trouble by quarrelling violently with the Italians in his host. The campaign was delayed owing to Charles's ill-health; but in May 1476 he left Lausanne with a force variously estimated at 25,000 and 36,000, and made his way slowly northward. His objective was Bern, and his declared purpose was to wipe out the city and leave no trace of its existence except a memorial stone.

He met with an obstacle on his path in the little town of Morat, the picturesque gates and walls of which come under the eyes of the modern traveller very much as they came under those of the Duke of Burgundy. Morat was garrisoned by 1500 Bernese and 100 Freiburg men under Adrian von Bubenberg, who had cast aside his political sympathies with Burgundy at the time of his city's peril. From 9th to 21st June he and his men made a magnificent defence of the town. They repelled three terrific night-attacks, and the women and children of Morat joined with the men in repairing the breaches in the walls. Meanwhile the Bern people had raised their army, and an appeal to the Confederates brought a prompt response. Zürich sent an especially strong force under its famous burgomaster and general, Hans Waldmann, and a very valuable helper was Duke René of Lorraine, who had been dispossessed of his duchy by Charles, and who brought with him cavalry—the arm that the Swiss lacked most. Altogether about 24,000 Swiss and allies advanced upon Morat from the north-east and on 21st June took up their quarters in the forest of Morat.

The morning of 22nd June—the anniversary of Laupen—was marked by a tremendous downpour of rain. Not until the sun appeared at mid-day did the Swiss begin to move in earnest. Charles occupied a position in front of Morat so strong that he believed the Swiss would not attempt an attack, and he had further strengthened the position with ditches and barricades. There is much dispute about what happened at the battle of Morat, but it seems pretty clear that the Burgundians were taken by surprise. Charles did not look for a battle, and the Confederates had concealed themselves so cleverly in the woods and among the inequalities of the ground that he had no idea of the strength of the force opposed to him. The beginning of the action was a wide turning movement by the first of the three Swiss divisions, commanded by Johann von Hallwyl of

Bern. This division fell unexpectedly on the Burgundian right and drove it back in disorder; whereupon the second division, probably under Waldmann of Zürich, charged straight upon the Burgundian front, rushing up to the cannons' mouths and cutting down the gunners as the Light Brigade did nearly four centuries later. But in this case no one had blundered. The *élan* of the Swiss carried them right to where Charles himself stood. Charles and the Prince of Orange—bearer of a name destined to the highest lustre—fought fiercely with their knights against the Swiss intruders. But no single group of men could withstand this tremendous onset. The Burgundians wavered and began to fall back, and as they wavered Bubenberg and his men sallied out from Morat and took them in the rear. Charles was beaten again. His army broke and fled. Duke René's cavalry rode down upon the fugitives, slaying without mercy. Charles, utterly crushed in spirit, made his way to Pontarlier. He had lost 10,000 men on that day, his conquerors but a few hundred.

The clouds had now descended permanently on Charles's career; life itself was nearly ended for him. Yet he rallied even from the shock of Morat. Stubborn to the last, he refused to relinquish Lorraine to its rightful owner, Duke René, and that nobleman vainly besought the alliance of the Confederation in an attack upon Nancy. But although the Confederates refused an alliance they allowed the Duke to hire Swiss troops; 8000 enlisted for his service under Waldmann of Zürich, and René paid 40,000 florins for them—the first appearance in history of a large body of Swiss mercenaries. These men took a foremost part in the murderous and dreadful battle in the snow by the walls of Nancy on 5th January 1477. On the next day the dead and mutilated body of Charles the Bold was found with the face embedded in frozen mud, surrounded by the heaped and twisted corpses of his warriors.

The Burgundian campaign was the beginning of the end of Switzerland's heroic age, the prelude to decadence. The military prestige of the Swiss indeed stood higher than ever. They had extinguished a fiery portent in Europe; Grandson and Morat had something of the momentousness of Leipzig and Waterloo. But territorially the Confederates gained little by the war, and they suffered grievous loss in national morality. After Morat Bern and Freiburg had taken possession of the whole of Vaud; but Louis XI., who had borne practically none of the burden of the campaign, now stepped in to take practically all the profits. By the treaty of Freiburg Bern gained Cerlier, Aigle, Bex, Ollon and the Ormonts, and Freiburg and Bern jointly took Morat, Grandson, Orbe and Echallens, with an indemnity; the rest of Vaud was left to Savoy. Freiburg's independence was recognized by Savoy, and the Upper Valaisians were confirmed in their occupation of the Lower Valais.

Of Burgundy the Swiss obtained nothing at all. After Charles's death Louis made an engagement with the Swiss by which, for a consideration of 100,000 florins (which Louis never paid), 6000 Swiss mercenaries were to hold Franche Comté on behalf of France. Franche Comté appealed in vain to be admitted within the Confederation. The quarrels that had broken out among the Confederates themselves, and the systematic bribery of their leaders by Louis, made them like wax in that subtle monarch's hands. Adrian von Bubenberg strove to hold his countrymen to their traditions. "Let us remain Germans," he urged them, "the French tongue (*die welsche Sprache*) is a tongue of traitors." Bern, in its later days, has acknowledged the worth of this brave and wise patriot, and has raised a statue to his memory.

In 1478 Maximilian of Austria, husband of Charles's daughter Marie, sought to gain possession of Burgundy. He bought off the Confederates with an indemnity of 150,000

florins (unpaid), and hired Swiss soldiers to help his cause. Louis sent his Swiss to dispute the claim; Swiss fought Swiss, and those in Louis's pay prevailed. Louis now definitely bought for 100,000 florins (also unpaid) the renunciation by the Swiss of all their shadowy claims upon Franche Comté, which passed, with the Burgundian duchy, into the hands of France. Maximilian recovered Franche Comté by treaty in 1493, and the province did not become finally French until the reign of Louis XIV. It was France, however, that was the real gainer by the fall of Charles. The Swiss acquired military glory, a few scraps of Savoyard territory, and several unfulfilled promises of indemnities. Their counsels were divided, their statesmen were corrupted by French gold, their warriors sold their services to the highest bidder. The land was blighted under the shadow of Plessis-les-Tours.

(*iii.*) *Brüder Klaus*

The disputes that broke out among the Confederates after Morat were concerned with nearly everything—booty, territory, external policy, internal relations. There developed out of them, however, a main line of division—between the city and the country cantons. The Forest states, with Zug and Glarus, were jealous of the hegemony of Bern during the Burgundian war. This hegemony, under Waldmann's influence, passed to Zürich, and the country cantons were jealous of Zürich. Lucerne sided with the cities, and matters were not improved when the Forest states were suspected of conniving at a rising of Lucerne's subjects in the Entlebuch valley. The Italian adventures of the Forest states were another cause of discord. These will be described hereafter; it is enough to say for the present that Waldmann and the city contingents withdrew from the Ticino when the Swiss were at issue with the Milanese,

leaving the Forest men to fight, and win, the battle of Giornico unaided. The cities, on their part, were shocked at an impish raid of the young Forest warriors upon Savoy. The young men of Schwyz and Uri, meeting at a carnival at Weggis, decided, in a festive spirit, to go and hurry up the payment of Savoy's indemnity. They went roystering on their way, recruiting congenial spirits as they passed; they actually reached Geneva 2000 strong, and there the alarmed citizens bought them off by guaranteeing the indemnity, paying the adventurers two florins apiece, and making them all hopelessly drunk. Meanwhile Louis XI. at Plessis-les-Tours noted all these things; and wherever money could be applied to make trouble worse, money was forthcoming.

In 1481 the Diet assembled at Stans with a serious purpose of putting an end to contention. The central subject of dispute was now the application of Solothurn and Freiburg for admission into the Perpetual League. The Forest cantons were not unwilling to accept Solothurn, which had always been a good friend of the Confederates, and had long been anxious to enter the League; but they objected to Freiburg—especially as the addition of two cities would make the city cantons equal to the country cantons in voting power on the Diet. The country cantons would go no further than consent to the admission of the two towns on terms of inferiority. For three days the Diet discussed the topic without nearing a solution; then it broke up, and the Confederacy seemed on the verge of civil war.

The peril was averted by the mediation of Nicholas von der Flüe. Nicholas was a hermit, a survival of the passing mediæval age of impulsive piety and vehement religious rigours. A native of Sachseln in Unterwalden, he had during his earlier years tended his cattle, reared a family, and done his duty as a citizen and a soldier. Then, at the age of fifty, compelled by a fervour of religion, he relinquished home and family, as many men did in the Middle Ages and as prosperous Hindus some-

times do in our own time, and retired to a hermitage by the Ranft in the Melchthal—a spot held in permanent honour by the peasantry. Here he dwelt in prayer and fasting, meagre, bare-footed, and with long untended beard; it was said that he sustained life on the sacrament of which he partook once a month. The fame of his wisdom spread afar, and men travelled from distant lands to lay their troubles before him and receive his simple advice and encouragement.

It was the parish priest of Stans who sought out Brüder Klaus, as the Unterwalden folk lovingly called him, and asked his counsel on the League's perplexities. Nicholas replied by recalling to the minds of the Swiss the first principles of their existence. They were a little knot of communities surrounded by mighty adversaries; their whole being depended upon unity and sincere faith among themselves; let them forget the lesser issues in the greater, and beware of destroying for trivial causes a bond created and long sustained by the grace of God.

The message of Nicholas had an instant effect. The Diet reassembled and sought to solve its problems on a higher plane of statesmanship. It was successful. By the compact of Stans the Confederates secured internal peace by pledging themselves to abstain from violence against each other. The priests' ordinance of 1370 and the Sempach ordinance of 1393 were renewed, and it was decreed that the oath of unity should be renewed every five years. By a subsequent and separate document Solothurn and Freiburg were admitted to the League, under the condition that they could not conclude treaties on their own account without the consent of a majority of the other eight cantons.

(*iv.*) *Hans Waldmann*

The inspiration of the compact of Stans was given, as we have seen, by Nicholas von der Flüe. The practical provisions

of it were drawn up by Hans Waldmann of Zürich. In 1487 Brüder Klaus passed away peacefully and was canonized. Two years later Waldmann perished on the scaffold. Between 1481 and 1487 Zürich virtually ruled the Confederation, and Waldmann more than virtually ruled Zürich. He was the third and greatest of the city's great burgomasters. Born at Blickensdorf, in Zug, he had come to Zürich as a young artisan. War attracted him more than labour, and power attracted him most of all. He won fame as a soldier; he became leader of the plebeian party in Zürich, and on being elected burgomaster he reduced the patrician representation on the Council and gave the predominance to his own faction. Endowed with all the craft of Brun, all the overbearing vehemence of Stüssi, and all the masterfulness of both; endowed, moreover, with a personal charm and fascination that neither of the others had possessed—his renown as a Don Juan was the talk of all Switzerland—Waldmann gained, and for a time held, complete supremacy in Zürich and even in the League.

His hand was heavy upon his adopted city. Idleness was forbidden, workmen were compelled to remain within the town, the peasantry outside were denied all voice in civic affairs and confined severely to their rural pursuits. Feasts and dances were drastically regulated; no affair was so private as to escape from Waldmann's interference—no looseness of life was tolerated except Waldmann's own. Let it be added that he sought to improve the city's aspect. The *Wasserkirche*, now containing the town library, was raised by him, and he completed the towers of the Grossmünster with Gothic spires that were overthrown by lightning in 1799.

Waldmann, as was indeed inevitable, at last exceeded his authority. The first of his steps downwards was the treacherous seizure and execution in 1487 of Theiling of Lucerne, the hero of Giornico, who was visiting Zürich on business. Lucerne and the other Confederates were deeply angered, but Wald-

mann remained master of the situation. The second and fatal step was an ordinance in 1489 that the peasants must destroy their watch-dogs, on account of the damage these animals did to game and vineyards. The result was a reversal of Goldsmith's parable: "The man it was that died." The peasants refused point blank to kill their dogs. Waldmann was flatly disobeyed; his spell was broken, his patrician enemies in Zürich raised their heads again, and a revolt ended in Waldmann's being imprisoned and sentenced to death. On 6th April 1489 he was stripped of the ensigns of knighthood that he had won at Morat, and led without the walls that he might die before the eyes of the peasantry whom he had infuriated. He looked back, it is said, towards the spires that he had reared on the cathedral. "Oh, Zürich, Zürich!" he exclaimed, "my beloved town, you know not this day what you do!" Then, after a prayer, he quietly and fearlessly bent his neck to the headsman's blow.

There followed a time of change and unrest in Zürich's municipal affairs, but Waldmann's modifications of Brun's constitution were finally perpetuated.

(*v.*) *The Last War with Austria*

During all this epoch Switzerland had been a subject country of the Holy Roman Empire. The subjection, indeed, had been little more than nominal; but the emperor was still acknowledged as a formal head, whose sanction was sought for the confirmation of rights and the establishment of claims. Thus the Swiss cantons applied to each new emperor for approval of their charters. Similarly, the Count of Savoy accepted a dukedom at the emperor's hands, and Charles the Bold tried to induce Frederick III. to grant him a royal crown. But the actual power of the empire, as distinct from its formal author-

ity, was becoming more and more of a shadow. The Confederacy's allegiance to the empire was by this time a very perfunctory matter, and when the Imperial sceptre became practically a hereditary possession of the house of Austria the perfunctoriness was mingled with distrust.

When at the end of the fifteenth century the empire came under the rule of a sovereign who was not only a Habsburg and Archduke of Austria, but sought to render his authority effective, matters speedily reached a crisis. It was the ambition of Maximilian, who succeeded Frederick III. in 1493, to make the Imperial power once more a reality in Europe. He was one of the great emperors, but so far as Switzerland was concerned he failed utterly. He erected an Imperial Council with authority to decide all disputes between the members of the empire. He proposed to raise money among the Swiss, and demanded levies of troops. The Swiss refused to acknowledge the Imperial Council; they would not consent to Maximilian's taxation, and would not supply him with troops. Their French allies were in the habit of paying for Swiss soldiers, or at any rate of promising to pay; the Swiss were now beyond giving their services for nothing at command—especially at Austrian command.

Suabia upheld the empire, and the Swiss occupation of the Thurgau was threatened. But two of the Rhætian Leagues, the League of God's House and the Upper League (miscalled the Grey League),[1] defied the empire, and in 1497 allied themselves with all the Confederates except Bern, Freiburg and Solothurn. The League of the Ten Jurisdictions was still under Austrian dominance. The Tyrolese, the most loyal friends a dynasty ever had, rallied to the side of Austria. War was inevitable, and Maximilian declared it in a ferocious message, in which he described the Swiss as "these wicked rustics, who have neither virtue, nor noble blood, nor modera-

[1] *See* chapter vi., section 3.

tion, among whom is nothing but vileness, bad faith, and contempt of all natural and legitimate authority." "The honour of our holy faith, of the holy empire, and of the German nation, requires the chastisement of these rebels."

The Swiss therefore found themselves once more contending for freedom against their ancient adversary. Once more they were completely victorious. In the early months of 1499 they invaded Suabia, and in conjunction with the Rhætians raided and laid waste the Vorarlberg. The Austrians were beaten every time they fought, and Suabia suffered terrible devastation. In May, however, a crisis arose in the fortunes of the Rhætians. The Tyrolese had successfully raided the Lower Engadine; afterwards 15,000 of them, under Ulrich of Habsburg, ascended the Münsterthal, on the southern side of the main Alpine chain, with the purpose of seizing the Bishop of Coire's possessions in the valley. Six thousand three hundred Grisons men crossed the Ofen Pass and fell upon the Tyrolese in the Calvi gorge, where the valley narrows between Tauffers and Laatsch—near by the present Swiss-Austrian frontier. One Rhætian division delivered a frontal attack; the other climbed the steep Schleinigberg to take the enemy in the rear. It was a tremendous battle; prodigious deeds are recorded of many men of the Grisons—above all of Benedict Fontana, the Winkelried of Rhætia, who, mortally wounded, yet summoned up his strength and led his men to the onslaught. At length the Tyrolese broke and gave way, with a loss of 5000 men against the 300 of the Rhætians.

The battle of the Calvi gorge emancipated the two Rhætian Leagues once and for all from Austrian rule. The Confederates made themselves secure very soon afterwards. An army of 16,000 Austrian troops marched to Dorneck, a little way south of Basel, and menaced Solothurn. On 22nd July 1499 a force of 4000 men from Bern, Zürich and Solothurn took the Austrians by surprise; the Swiss prevailed after a short but fierce con-

flict, and the arrival towards evening of 1200 men from Zug and Lucerne turned the defeat into a rout.

Maximilian had found the Swiss as unconquerable as ever; he sought to come to terms with them through the mediation of the Duke of Milan. On 22nd September 1499 was signed the Treaty of Basel. Switzerland did not gain titular independence by this Treaty; that was not conferred until 1648. But she gained an independence that was everything but titular. Maximilian granted her freedom from the jurisdiction of the Imperial Council and all other Imperial tribunals, and promised to lay no further imposts upon the Swiss. The Thurgau, by the Duke of Milan's award, was assigned definitely to the Confederacy. The Treaty of Basel put the final seal upon Swiss freedom; it was the culmination and end of a struggle of over two hundred years.

(*vi.*) *The New Confederates*

A few years later the Confederation assumed the form that it was to preserve for nearly three centuries. In 1501 the League was strengthened and honoured by the inclusion of the famous city of Basel. From Roman times onward Basel had been an axis of mid-European life. Augusta Raurica had been a Roman administrative, military and commercial headquarters; mediæval Basel, built on a site a few miles distant from Augusta, held a leading place among Rhenish towns, and was valued among them as a powerful ally. It had been the seat of a bishopric since the fourth century, and was in the early fifteenth century the meeting-place of a famous ecclesiastical council. In 1460 a university had been founded there by the literary Pope Æneas Sylvius; already, in 1501, it had educated Zwingli, and it was soon to give a home, and a publisher, to the learned wanderer Erasmus. Twice the city had concluded alliances of twenty years with members of the Swiss League, and the citizens bore in

mind how Basel had been saved from French clutches by the heroic Swiss sacrifice at St Jacques on the Birse. When Basel applied for admission to the Confederacy the Swiss gladly granted it, gave the city precedence over Solothurn and Freiburg, and permitted her to make war and conclude treaties on her own account. The only limitation imposed upon her was that she was not to act as mediator in disputes between Confederates.

In the same year, 1501, Schaffhausen was allowed to join the League. This Suabian town, which had gained its freedom from the Emperor Sigismund in 1415, had been in alliance with the Confederates since 1454, and had been useful to them during the Suabian war. The terms of her admission to the League were not those granted to Basel but the narrower ones granted to Solothurn and Freiburg; she was not a free agent in matters of war and treaty.

In 1513 Appenzell at length attained full cantonal dignity. She might have gained it earlier but for a trouble in 1489. The Abbot of St Gall quarrelled with the town of St Gall; Appenzell took the side of the townsmen, the Confederates that of the Bishop. But in 1513 the number of cantons was made thirteen by Appenzell's inclusion, and at thirteen it remained until the days of the French Revolution.

In 1511 the Emperor Maximilian and the Confederates concluded at Baden a treaty of perpetual peace, with provision for full commercial liberty of the Swiss. The cantons took Franche Comté under their protection, receiving in return an annual subsidy which appears to have been paid. With the Treaty of Baden the Habsburgs virtually pass out of Switzerland's story.

(*vii.*) *Novara and Marignano*

One more episode of the heroic age remains to be related. We have seen how the men of Uri and other Forest cantons

occupied the Ticino Valley in 1410, were driven out in 1426, and returned to it permanently in 1440. Seven years later the Dukedom of Milan had passed from the family of Visconti to that of Sforza, and in 1467 the duke had confirmed the Swiss in the possession of Ticino. In 1477, however, there were disputes with the Milanese over pastures and bridges. At the same time Pope Sixtus IV. quarrelled with the Duchess-Regent of Milan and offered the Swiss a handsome subsidy for an attack upon the duchy. A large Swiss force accordingly besieged Bellinzona; but Waldmann of Zürich quarrelled with the Forest leaders and recrossed the Alps, whereupon the Forest men abandoned the siege and withdrew, under Frischhans Theiling of Lucerne, to Giornico. There were 600 of them, reinforced by 350 men of Ticino. Ten thousand Milanese followed them up, ignoring the circumstance that Giornico was precisely suited to traditional Swiss warfare. It was situated in a narrow defile, and on 28th December 1478 one part of the defile was rendered slippery by the freezing of water that had overflowed from a torrent. While the Milanese horse and foot were stumbling on the ice the Swiss rolled boulders upon them and then charged. It was a complete victory in the old-fashioned manner; the Swiss slew 1500, and their own loss was but half a score. Theiling survived to be jealously slain by Waldmann in 1487.

A few years later a complex train of circumstances led to the collision of Swiss and French on the plains of Italy—a collision in which most of the glory went to Switzerland and most of the profit to France. It was really a one-sided conflict. The Swiss were the most formidable fighters in Europe, and their neighbours were ready to pay (or promise) large sums for their aid. But the Swiss form of government was ill adapted for sustained aggression on a large scale. "Federal government," Professor Dicey has said, "is weak government"; and the aphorism is unquestionably true of states with expansive

designs. Switzerland was at that time not even a Federal state. It was a loose Confederacy, the members of which held jealously to their own opinions and their own independence. It was not easy for such a group to arrive at a common policy, still harder for the group to adhere to the policy when arrived at. Besides, the divisions of the Diet were apt to reproduce themselves on campaign. Each Swiss soldier was a free and independent elector who paid his own expenses; discipline was accordingly slack, and a Swiss army was often apt to resemble a debating society. Let it be added, to the honour of the Swiss, that dissensions vanished like magic on the appearance of the enemy. But none the less the Confederacy was at a manifest disadvantage compared with the highly-centralized, absolutely-governed and ruthlessly-aggressive state of France.

The first French venture in Italy was the famous march to Naples of Charles VIII. in 1494. Charles was accompanied by 6000 Swiss mercenaries. Ludovic the Moor, Duke of Milan, who had invited Charles to Italy, successfully manœuvred him out again; and in 1499 Louis XII., Charles's successor, came to punish Ludovic. Louis had a claim to the Duchy of Milan as grandson of a daughter of the Visconti, and ere he came to the throne he had promised that if the Swiss would help him to gain the duchy he would make a cession of Bellinzona, Lugano and Locarno. Twenty-four thousand Swiss were enrolled by Louis's agents with the Diet's consent; the Swiss mercenaries employed by Ludovic of Milan were recalled, and Louis seized the duchy. Ludovic ended his life in a French prison.

Having gained his end, Louis refused to cede Bellinzona, Lugano and Locarno. There was, besides, a long bill for the services of Swiss mercenaries which Louis plainly did not mean to pay. The French, in addition, had given the Swiss unfulfilled promises of aid in an alliance made at the time of the Suabian war. Franco-Swiss relations were consequently

strained, and the three Forest cantons felt justified in seizing Bellinzona, the three castles of which bear the names of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden. Louis XII. could not get them out, and in 1503 Bellinzona was ceded to the Forest cantons by the Treaty of Arona.

The French alliance made during the Suabian war was due for renewal in 1509; Louis's terms were exacting, and the renewal was refused by the Diet. Meanwhile Pope Julius II., with the active aid of Cardinal Schinner, Bishop of Sion, contrived a formidable combination with the purpose of driving the French out of Italy. The Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII. of England, the Venetians and the Swiss joined the Pope's Holy League against France in 1510. After much negotiating and casual fighting matters came to a crisis in the spring of 1512, when 18,000 Swiss and Rhætians crossed the Albula Pass with the object of placing Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovic the Moor, on the ducal throne of Milan. The French resistance was ineffective; the Swiss in alliance with the Venetians overran Milanese territory, and in September Maximilian became Duke as a tributary of the Confederates, who were virtually masters of the great Lombard city. Bellinzona, Locarno, Lugano, the Ossola and other Cisalpine valleys passed into their possession. The Rhætian Leagues received the Valtellina and the districts of Chiavenna and Bormio. On 29th December Maximilian Sforza entered Milan in state; he was welcomed to his heritage by the Swiss conquerors, and in his reply commended himself to their protection. It was the culminating hour of Swiss ascendancy.

At Baden, in September, when the Diet was about to sign the treaty with Maximilian Sforza, while the ambassadors of the Powers crowded around to seek the favours of the puissant Confederacy, it is narrated that three loud raps resounded in the Council chamber. The deputies looked at each other in alarm; the noise was unexplained, and they went about their

Castle of Uri, Bellinzona

business and concluded the treaty. But the raps were afterwards recalled as a message of doom; the first, it was held, denoted the grim battle of Novara, the second and third the two bitter days of Marignano. Louis XII., indeed, was not idle. Having detached Venice from the Swiss alliance, he sent an army under Generals La Tremouille and Trivulcio to recover the duchy. The French did recover most of it; the duke had to flee from Milan, and was besieged in Novara.

On 5th June 1513 the French generals learnt that the Swiss who had been sent to the rescue were close at hand; they abandoned the siege of Novara and withdrew to a position to the south-west of the town, well protected by woods and ditches. At ten o'clock at night the Swiss arrived at Novara; by sunrise they were out of the town again, marching to the attack. With the Novara garrison they numbered 10,000 against the French 16,000. Within three hours the battle was over, and more than a third of the combatants lay dead or wounded on the field. The left wing of the Swiss opened the fight with a furious attack upon the cavalry and artillery in the French right; the cannon were captured and turned upon the French infantry, already pressed by the Swiss general advance. The French were completely defeated—not without heavy cost to the conquerors—the duchy was abandoned, and the remnant of Louis's army retreated in haste across the Mont Cenis Pass.

There was trouble for France everywhere. Spain had seized Navarre, England was attacking in the north; the Swiss took a further initiative, and in September besieged Dijon, defended by La Tremouille with the survivors of Novara. La Tremouille was not equal to another fight and made terms, renouncing in his king's name all claim to the Duchy of Milan, and promising a war indemnity. King Louis, having made peace with his other adversaries, repudiated the Dijon terms and prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy. But he died on 1st January 1515, and Francis I. succeeded him.

This brilliant, ambitious and reckless monarch was the last man likely to abandon his predecessor's designs. In the summer of 1515 he crossed the Alps with 60,000 men; the Swiss, quarrelling even more violently than usual among themselves, concentrated upon Milan to meet him. Hearing of their dissensions, Francis offered them a huge war indemnity if they would abandon the duchy. Bern, Solothurn, Freiburg and the Valaisians declared themselves content and withdrew; the others, still wrangling, awaited the coming of the French.

The French army took up its position between Marignano and Brera, a few miles from Milan, and on 13th September 1515 the Swiss, numbering between 20,000 and 24,000, sallied out to the attack under the warlike Cardinal Schinner. The Confederates were under no illusions as to the nature of their ordeal. "Think not ever to see your homes again; here is your graveyard," cried Werner Steiner of Zug, commanding the advanced guard, and significantly flung three handfuls of earth over his warriors. Nevertheless, the Swiss attack was delivered with all the usual magnificent impetus. The French were forced back; a band of young men, vowed to desperate deeds, created consternation by repeating Novara with the seizure of French cannon. Bayard himself, the peerless knight, was for once not "*sans peur*"—he fled, leaving his weapons behind him. The fight went on by moonlight, until at midnight the moon sank; the rivals bivouacked close by each other, awaiting the dawn.

Cardinal Schinner advised a retreat to Milan, but the Swiss, cold and hungry as they were, refused. At sunrise the great war-horn of Uri sounded for the attack. Francis himself drove the Swiss back in the centre by a cavalry charge; but on the wings the Swiss prevailed. Until mid-day the combat raged; then a great cloud of dust drew near, and from the cloud armed men issued crying, "San Marco! San Marco!" The Vene-

tians had come to the aid of their French allies. Still the Swiss fought desperately on, when Trivulcio broke down the banks of the River Lambro and flooded the ground occupied by his enemies. It was the end; the Swiss formed up around their artillery, gathered their wounded, and withdrew in perfect order to Milan. More than half of them were left behind dead.

"I have been in eighteen battles," exclaimed the veteran Trivulcio, "but they were all child's play to this!" It was splendid, but it was a final and crushing disaster. Milan fell definitely into the hands of France. Francis offered his brave foes an alliance. The Diet disputed as to its acceptance, but after long argument terms were agreed upon on 12th November 1516. The Swiss received a large war indemnity and an annual payment for each canton as well as for the Valais and other allies; they retained their conquests south of the Alps except the Ossola Valley. In 1521 a further treaty was drawn up by which the French king could raise a levy in Switzerland of 6000 soldiers, with power to raise the number to 16,000.

The heroic age had ended heroically at Marignano; the proud Confederacy had become a pensioner of France.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Bern—Clock Tower and Statue of Adrian von Bubenberg.

Battlefield of Grandson.

Town, walls and battlefield of Morat (monument).

Stans.

Sachseln (Unterwalden), birthplace of Brüder Klaus, where relics of him are preserved.

The Ranft, in the Grosse Melchthal, hermitage of Brüder Klaus.

Freiburg—Town Hall and ancient lime tree (traditionally grown from a twig brought from Morat by a messenger who announced the victory and died from exhaustion).

Solothurn—Sculptured Group commemorating the reconciliation of the Confederates by Brüder Klaus.

Zürich—Wasserkirche (now the town library).

Calvi Gorge in the Münsterthal.
Battlefield of Dorneck.
Basel—University (buildings modern) and Town Hall.
Baden (Aargau).
Battlefield of Giornico.
Castles of the Forest States at Bellinzona.
Battlefields of Novara and Marignano (Lombardy).

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION

(*i.*) *The Country's Condition*

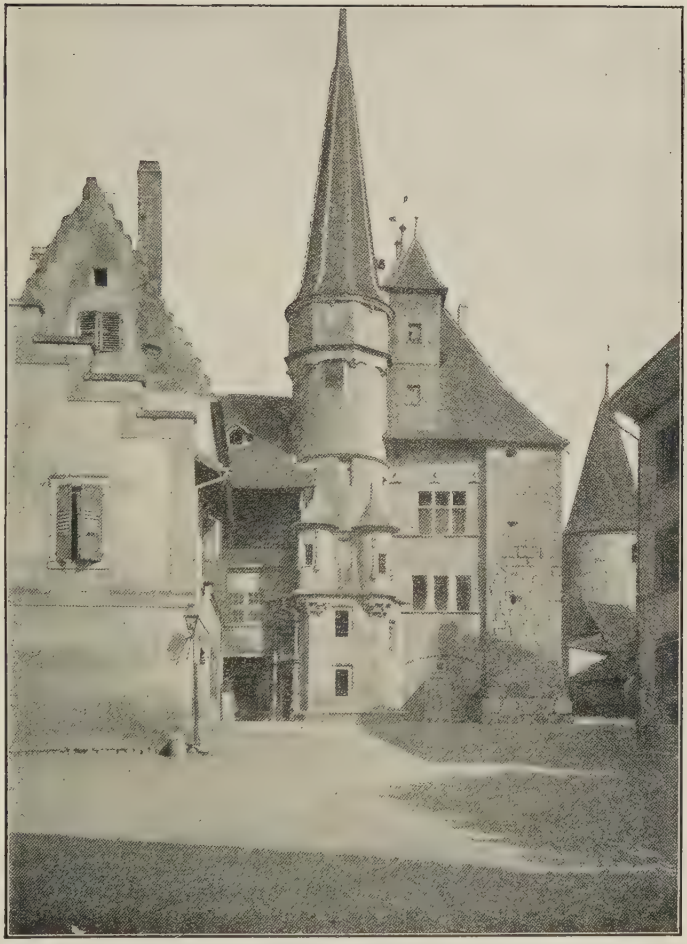
We have seen how the little group of Swiss states, gathered around a nucleus of mountain communities, wrestled with great adversaries for its liberty and gradually prevailed; we have seen how the group, in despite of its loose union and its internal dissensions, became an aggressive and conquering power whose warriors were the admiration and the dread of Europe. It has been necessary to trace the Nemesis of these triumphs: how these renowned warriors, whose services were sought on every hand, sold these services to the highest bidder; and how the old stately simplicity of the Commonwealth was undermined by prosperity and by the corroding influence of foreign gold.

But the end of the heroic age was not a fall but the beginning of a decline. Marignano, while it deprived the Swiss of conquests, was very far from destroying their military prestige. Switzerland was still a factor of weight in European affairs, and among the Swiss themselves only men of clear vision like Zwingli saw the true nature of the Gallic blight that was to reduce the country to a nonentity. Another influence was at hand that was for three centuries and more to mar Switzerland's progress towards Federal unity—the influence of the Reformation. Ere that comes about let us take a farewell glance at the old Catholic Switzerland as the heroic age had left it.

In 1513, as stated in the last chapter, the Confederation came to consist of thirteen cantons. Of these five—Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus and Appenzell—were rural communities; seven others—Lucerne, Zürich, Bern, Solothurn, Freiburg, Basel and Schaffhausen—were towns governing the country districts in their neighbourhood. Zug counted usually as a rural state. Various surrounding districts—the Aargau, the Thurgau, Ticino and other Italian territories, and portions of Vaud—were ruled as subject lands by one, or several, or all of the Confederates, and were administered by Swiss bailiffs; Franche Comté was under a Swiss protectorate on the emperor's behalf. Various communities were allied more or less firmly to the Confederacy. The Abbey of St Gall, the town of St Gall and the town of Bienne were privileged allies who sent one representative each to the Diet, which, with its two representatives from each canton, numbered altogether twenty-nine members. Other allies of some or all of the Confederates were the Upper Valais, the Rhætian Leagues, the little state of Gersau,[1] the towns of Neuchâtel (since 1406), Rothweil (since 1463) and Mühlhausen (since 1466). Geneva allied herself with Freiburg in 1519 and with Bern in 1526. The Abbots of Engelberg, St Maurice and Disentis, and the Bishop of Basel, claimed independent jurisdiction over the territories they possessed; the Bishops of Sion and Coire asserted similar privileges, but were held in check by the Valaisian and Rhætian Leagues.

War was at this time the leading Swiss industry; as will have been observed, the fighting abilities of the nation had been found to have a marked commercial value. Swiss tactics had not, in essence, changed since early days. Their leaders sought choice of position; and, having obtained it, they adopted the Nelsonian policy of making straight and hard for the enemy. But the growth in size of Swiss armies, and the necessity of

[1] *See* page 95.



Renaissance Château, Avenches

fighting on all kinds of *terrain*—plain as well as mountain—led to various alterations in detail. The main body of a Swiss force was now armed not with halberds but with pikes, mostly about ten feet in length. The halberdiers, with the arquebusiers and crossbowmen, operated on the flanks of the pikemen's phalanxes. The general idea of Swiss commanders was to engage the enemy's whole line, and at the same time to smash up one of the enemy's wings with an irresistible rush. Although the Swiss were nearly always outnumbered these. terrific rushes seldom failed; and the *élan* of the Swiss implied no lack of steadfastness. Although sometimes beaten they never ran; their defeats were only less glorious than their victories.

The conditions of the time were not favourable to the development of any special industries. But the Swiss drove a thriving commerce with surrounding lands, notably with Italy; and to this commerce their conquests were of considerable help. War and trade alike contributed to the wealth of the communities; and although the rural cantons preserved much of their simplicity—hard drinking was the only systematic luxury they developed—the towns revealed the full effects of prosperity. Lavishness of attire, which Waldmann had tried to check in Zürich; extravagance of personal habits; a love of amusements; a considerable degree of licentiousness, in which the clergy were conspicuous—these were quite characteristic of town life. A Swiss city was a gay place in those days, and the popular watering-place of Baden during the season was up to the friskiest standard of modern holiday resorts.

Although war and letters are by no means necessarily in conflict, the literary activities of the Swiss during their great martial days were a very minor quantity. Apart from the labours of the Minnesingers at Zürich, the poetic output of German-speaking Switzerland consisted of rude warlike or satiric ballads. The *White Book of Sarnen* is the most important and distinguished example of early German Swiss prose;

and there is narrative merit of a primitive kind in the chronicles of Justinger and Diebold Schilling of Bern, Melchior Russ of Lucerne, and others. French-speaking Switzerland showed more literary variety. It had had a fine troubadour with a romantic history in Otho of Grandson; mystery and miracle plays were numerous and in great favour; and the fame of the romance, *Fierabras the Giant*, published in 1478 by Jean Bagnyon of Lausanne, spread as far as Paris.

It was Basel, with its university, that brought the intellectual Renaissance to German Switzerland. The residence there of the great Erasmus from 1521 onwards set the seal on the fame that the university had quickly won as a centre of learning. Heinrich Loriti, poet and man of universal knowledge, was one of its early scholars; Zwingli and Tschudi the historian both studied at Basel. Paracelsus, the revolutionary medical philosopher—an Einsiedeln man of Appenzell parentage—paused in his erratic career to teach at the university. Nor was Basel behindhand in art; the illustrious Johannes Holbein spent so many years in Basel that the city claims him, not without justice, as her own. The greatest Swiss native painter of the time, Nicholas Manuel, was a citizen of Bern.

(*ii.*) *Zwingli*

It is not necessary here to enter upon any account of the general causes and course of the Reformation; and the necessity is all the less in that the Swiss Reformation, although responsive to the great movement inspired by Luther in Germany, followed a course of its own and was guided by leaders of its own. Nor were these leaders men of merely local import. Next to the name of Luther in the history of the time, and next to that name alone, rank those of Zwingli and of Calvin.

Ulrich Zwingli was born in 1484 in a wooden chalet—still standing—just outside the village of Wildhaus, in the Toggenburg district, then under the rule of the Abbot of St Gall. To the north of the village tower the Alps of Appenzell; to the south are the bare rocky peaks that separate the valley of the Thur from the Walensee. Zwingli's birthplace was thus distinctively Alpine country; but it was unfree, and only linked with the Swiss Confederacy through the associateship of its overlord the Abbot. Zwingli's parents were well-to-do people of high standing in the locality, and they gave their son the best possible education. He was sent to Basel at the age of ten, and from there went to Bern to study the classics under the famous scholar and patriot, Wölflin (Lupulus). He passed on to Vienna, then returned to Basel, where he both studied and taught; and finally, a fully-equipped savant of the Renaissance, he quitted the university with some unwillingness and became parish priest of Glarus at the age of twenty-two.

Zwingli was not unaware of the contemporary character of the Church that he entered. The absence of spirituality, the greed and looseness of the clergy, the profitable humbugging of the people with indulgences, and the unqualified worldliness of the Holy Pontiff himself, were noted and talked about in every European centre of learning: they had certainly not escaped the observation of Zwingli. But the genial and popular young pastor of Glarus was less concerned at this time with spiritual affairs than with literature, music and politics. He accompanied the Glarus contingent in the campaigns of Novara and Marignano, and returned with an intense conviction, afterwards resolutely acted upon, that the cardinal dangers threatening the Swiss Commonwealth were the corruption of the rulers by foreign gold and the hiring of the Swiss mercenaries in foreign wars.

In 1516 Zwingli accepted the post of chaplain at Einsiedeln. This spell of retirement in monastic surroundings was a decisive

period in his career. Zwingli never seems to have suffered the spiritual agonies that we read of in the case of many religious pioneers; his mind was of another type. But he did arrive at a conviction that the remedy for the Church's evils lay deeper than a mere reform of abuses—that it called for a change in the bases of faith. Here it was that the leading Reformers parted company with the scholarly critics of the Church such as Erasmus. Zwingli was not at this nor at any other time an ascetic; he was not even above taking advantage of the clerical licence of his day. The vow of celibacy was fulfilled by abstention from marriage, but not otherwise. Zwingli, as he frankly confessed afterwards, was in this respect not without error.

In 1518 Zwingli was called to Zürich to take up his life's work as preacher in the cathedral. Almost immediately he assumed the spiritual and temporal leadership of the city. A feeling against clerical abuses already existed in the city, and Zwingli, while he did not as yet attack the outward forms and symbols of the Roman faith, endeavoured in his early sermons gradually to supplant the arbitrary authority of the Church with authority derived direct from Holy Writ. His first straight blow was delivered in 1519, when a monk named Samson came to Zürich selling indulgences. Zwingli denounced the sale from the pulpit; the Bishop of Constance, who had reforming tendencies, joined with the Zürich Council in ordering Samson off.

Later in the same year the plague came to Zürich. Zwingli worked heroically among the victims, caught the disease himself, and nearly died. In 1521 came the treaty with France, with its provisions for the levying of Swiss mercenaries. This was Zwingli's greatest aversion in politics; he wrought so powerfully with the Council that he succeeded in persuading it to refrain from signing the treaty. Zürich alone of the thirteen Confederates stood out, and was looked at

askance by the other twelve in consequence. Nor was Zwingli less firm in regard to the pope's request for Zürich mercenaries. He was unsuccessful in 1521, and 2700 men were sent to Rome; but in 1522 they were recalled, and Zürich citizens were forbidden to serve pope, or emperor, or King of France.

Meanwhile religious matters were coming to a crisis. Zwingli had moved cautiously at first in the direction of Reform, although his teaching in the pulpit had had a strong evangelical tendency. But Luther had now begun his gigantic battle; there was more or less spiritual unrest in every mid-European city, and it was specially manifest in Zürich. There was opposition to tithes, hostility to the confessional, murmuring about the reservation of the sacrament. During the Lent of 1522 daring citizens refused to abstain from meat. A man named Froschauer had sausages served at a large dinner-party at which Zwingli was present. Zwingli did not eat the sausages, but was held to be a consenting party to the innovation. He accepted the responsibility, and preached a sermon denouncing fasts and making the significant declaration that "good works are not those ordained by the Church but those commanded by God in Holy Writ." The Bishop of Constance thought that matters were going too far; he sent clergy to refute Zwingli, but Zwingli, in the opinion of Zürich, refuted the clergy, one of whom, indeed, became a Reformer.

Zwingli's next step was to protest against the vow of celibacy. He disregarded the vow himself by marrying the widow Anna Reinhard, but discreetly kept the marriage a secret for two years. Matters reached a climax in January 1523 when Zwingli met Johann Faber, the Vicar-General of Constance, in formal debate before the Zürich Council. The Reformer developed his whole system in sixty-seven theses, and in his argument not only condemned fasts and celibacy, but denied transubstantiation—a point in which he went far beyond

Luther—and contended against confession and absolution and the intercession of Virgin and saints. This was the first full-bodied exposition of Reformed doctrines in Switzerland, and it created an immense impression. Before the year was ended Zürich had officially adopted the Reformation, and the Reformers in their zeal had reached the image-breaking stage.

At first Zürich was alone in this respect among the cantons. The Diet was severe in its censure; it took strong measures against recreant priests, threatened to make short work of Zwingli if it could lay hands on him, and sent a deputation to Zürich to request that these innovations should cease. "We wish to remain loyal to our Confederates," replied the Zürich Council, "but we can yield nothing in that which concerns the Word of God." Zürich was not long in solitude, however. Œcolampadius, a courageous Reformer and friend of Zwingli, won an eager hearing in Basel, sustaining his position as Zwingli did by public debates, and by 1529 Basel was fairly in the grip of the Reform movement. Bern, for all its conservatism, was partly won over by the gentle eloquence of Berchtold Haller; for some years the Bernese Council tried to hold the balance between the two faiths, but in January 1528, after a great debate in which Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Haller and other leading Swiss Reformers took part, Bern definitely declared for Protestantism. The town of St Gall was won over by Joachim Watt or Vadianus, one of the most scholarly of the Reformers. Appenzell followed suit—except for the inner portion, which remained, and remains to this day, sturdily Catholic. Schaffhausen, also, joined itself to the Reform movement. In Glarus the parish priest, Valentine Tschudi, was most accommodating; he celebrated mass for the Catholics in the morning and preached to the Protestants in the afternoon. Friction, however, prevailed even in Glarus for a little while; but both parties agreed to dwell in amity

under the treaty arranged for them by the judicious Landammann Aebli.

The Confederacy was thus, by 1529, sharply divided. Zürich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and the predominant portions of Glarus and Appenzell were Protestant; the other seven Leaguers were Catholic. The Forest cantons were especially resolute in their opposition to reform; the simple peasantry abhorred the thought of attack upon their faith, which had retained its purity far better in the rural and mountain districts than in the towns. There was much friction in the Diet, and some persecution; but the Confederates might have arrived at a *modus vivendi* had it not been for the subject lands. The Protestant cantons demanded that the people of such of these lands as were held in common by the Confederates should have liberty to choose their religion; this the Catholic cantons refused. In the Bernese Oberland the state of things was very much the opposite of this. Bern's mountain subjects wished to remain Catholic, and sought to join themselves to Unterwalden, with that canton's connivance. But Bern enforced the Reformation upon them by arms. As feeling heightened the Protestant cantons formed a Christian League, which included St Gall, Mühlhausen, Constance and Bienne. The Catholic cantons enraged their opponents by concluding an alliance with Duke Ferdinand of Austria, and brought on the crisis by capturing and burning a Zurich pastor in the May of 1529.

This final provocation led to the outbreak of a war in which not a drop of blood was shed. The Zürich forces marched to Kappel, near the Zug boundary, and there the Catholic army awaited them. The Bernese, who were not enthusiastic about this campaign, sent a body of men with careful instructions not to hurry. The rival armies were not in the least anxious to fight. Old comrades of Novara and Marignano met on the outposts and fraternized. The Catholics, being short

of bread, sent to the Protestant camp for it and obtained it. They returned the favour by inviting the Protestants to a feast of milk soup. Everything was propitious for the intervention of Aebli, the Landammann of Glarus, a man far ahead of his time in tolerance. Aebli urged the rivals not to destroy the old Confederation, and in spite of Zwingli's protests peace was declared. The Catholic cantons gave up the Austrian alliance, agreed that free choice of faith should be extended to the subject lands, and paid the costs of the campaign. A declaration —not observed—against the receipt of foreign pensions was added to the treaty.

Zwingli, however, was not satisfied. He believed the Reformation to be in danger; the attitude of the emperor, Charles V., was very threatening, and events in the Grisons took an awkward turn. The Rhætian Leagues had come under Protestant influence, and were exposed to attack by an adventurer named James Medici, with the supposed connivance of the emperor. Zwingli tried to come to an understanding with Luther. The two met at Marburg in September 1529, but after long argument could not agree about the communion. Luther held that it was an efficacious sacrament, Zwingli that it was merely a symbol. Zwingli returned from Marburg convinced that Swiss Protestantism must take care of itself.

He persuaded Zürich to make alliances with several German cities, and even to try and come to terms with France. He spread the Reformation in the subject lands, suppressed Roman Catholicism in St Gall, and had the Abbey delivered up to the townsmen. The Protestant cantons helped the Rhætian Leagues to get rid of James Medici; the Catholic cantons refused assistance, and Zwingli, in anger, caused Zürich to close its markets against the Catholic cantons. Zwingli, in fact, lost his head, as other great men of Zürich had done before him. The closing of the markets meant starvation for the Catholic cantons. Once more, on 11th October 1531, the two religions

met in arms at Kappel, and this time there was no fraternization. Zürich was defeated, and the Reformer himself was struck down in the fight as he knelt by a wounded man. His body was quartered and burnt.

Another success a few days later definitely gave the Catholics the upper hand. The Protestant cantons—except Bern, which had kept discreetly in the background—were compelled to pay heavy indemnities. The monks of St Gall and other religious houses were restored to their possessions. Protestantism was sorely smitten, but revived under Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zürich. The Protestant cantons held to their beliefs, and formulated them in 1536 and 1566 by the First and Second Helvetic Confessions of Faith.

(*iii.*) *Vaud, Geneva, Bern*

While German-speaking Switzerland was winning its full freedom from the House of Habsburg, French-speaking Switzerland remained unambitiously under the milder rule of the House of Savoy. Several portions of Vaud, as we have seen, had come under the rule of Bern; the Lower Valais had submitted to the Upper Valais; Bienne and Neuchâtel were long-standing allies of the Confederation. But most of Vaud remained in the hands of the Dukes of Savoy—the ducal title had been conferred by the emperor in 1416—and was passably content with this overlordship. The French-speaking Swiss, when not infected with revolutionary fervour, have been more easy-going folk than their German-speaking neighbours. Besides, the hand of Savoy was not a heavy one. Ever since the days of Count Peter the towns had had substantial privileges, and the county as a whole possessed a form of representative government. The local nobility and deputies from the towns assembled at Moudon in the Estates of Vaud, an assembly

that drew up laws for the sanction of the duke and granted supplies when the ducal revenues—derived from crown lands and certain customary dues—were running low.

The whole of French-speaking Switzerland, however, was not in the hands of Savoy. The Count of Neuchâtel exercised an independent jurisdiction which was disputed with a good deal of success, so far as their own affairs were concerned, by the burghers of Neuchâtel town. In the north the Bishop of Basel acknowledged no overlord for his wide territories except the emperor, who did not usually matter. Bienne, however, emancipated itself from his rule and became a privileged ally of the Confederation. More concerned with the Savoyard rule in Vaud was the Bishopric of Lausanne. The Bishop ruled not only Lausanne itself but lands extending as far north as Avenches, as a principality entirely distinct from Savoy. The citizens of Lausanne and the people of the other portions of the diocese had gradually won franchises, which each successive bishop on his accession swore solemnly to observe. The government, under the bishop, was in the hands of the *placitum generale,* a body possessing both legislative and judicial powers, composed of representatives of clergy, nobles and commons. The citizens of Lausanne itself made ingenious use of the constant friction between their bishops and the Dukes of Savoy to enlarge their privileges. They even called in the aid of the emperors. They procured charters from the Emperor Sigismund in 1434 and the Emperor Frederic in 1469, and by the end of the fifteenth century Lausanne was approaching the dignity of a free city. The place was famous and much frequented; it was a great religious centre and a shrine for pilgrimages. But its sanctity did not prevent it from gaining a reputation for extreme dissoluteness, to the acquirement of which its clergy contributed a full share.

In the fifteenth century the power of Savoy was on the wane and Vaud fell into a condition of disorder. As in earlier

feudal times, the local nobility took a free hand; the towns were concerned to protect themselves, and several of them entered into alliance with Freiburg or Bern. It was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that Geneva became the storm-centre of the region. Events were pending that were to make Geneva one of the great little cities of the world. But until the days of the Reformation Geneva, in despite of its situation and the spirit of its citizens, was not a place of remarkable note. It was the seat of an independent bishopric—rather overshadowed by the greater bishopric of Lausanne, and not quite so independent, for the rulers of Savoy had constituted themselves protectors of the see. In the customary manner, by diplomacy mingled with threats, the citizens had won from the bishop a considerable measure of civic liberty.

The acute trouble began with the accession in 1504 of Duke Charles III., who designed to reassert the authority of Savoy. He succeeded in making the turmoil worse than ever, and the only place he even temporarily subdued was Geneva. His designs on the city were detected and vehemently opposed by the citizens' party, which sought the support of the Swiss Confederacy; hence their name of *Eidgnots*, derived from *Eidgenossen*, formerly thought to be the origin of the name Huguenots. The partisans of Savoy were derisively called Mamelukes, after the recreant Christians in Egyptian service. Outstanding figures among the Eidgnots were Besançon Hughes, the grave statesman and diplomatist; the fearless and high-spirited Philibert Berthelier; and the learned François Bonivard, who has won a rather apocryphal renown in English verse. Chiefly through the efforts of Hughes this party secured, in 1519, the alliance of Freiburg.

In the same year, however, Duke Charles entered the city with a powerful army. The Eidgnot leaders fled; Bonivard was betrayed by companions, and imprisoned for six years in

the castle of Grolée. Berthelier alone disdained to fly. He was arrested, tried by a dentist who was appointed judge for the express purpose of condemning him, and executed. His martyrdom, and that of Amé Lévrier in 1524 for a bold attempt to uphold the rights of the citizens, kept alive the anger of the Eidgnot party, who were prepared to take advantage of any opportunity that the duke gave them. The opportunity came in 1525, when the Duke quitted Geneva—as it happened, never to return. The Eidgnots, having secured the support of the bishop, gained in 1526 the long-desired and potent alliance of Bern.

The emancipation of Geneva was not now long delayed. The city had considerable difficulty with partizans of Savoy among the local nobility—the spoon-knights, as they were called (*chevaliers de la cuiller*), from the bravado of one of their number, who brandished a spoon, declaring, "With this I shall swallow Geneva!" His hearers liked the sentiment, and with spoons dangling from their necks they created much disturbance in the city's neighbourhood. Geneva seemed likely to fall once more into the hands of Savoy. But in 1530 an army of 14,000 Confederates entered Vaud and dictated terms to the duke, and Geneva's rights were definitely recognized. Bonivard, however, did not share in his city's good fortune. He was arrested and confined in the Savoy castle of Chillon.

Meanwhile the Reformation had reached French Switzerland. It came, not direct from Germany or Zürich, but by way of France. Its pioneer was Guillaume Farel, a fiery Frenchman from Dauphiné, a man whose "bodily presence was weak," and indeed mean, but whose speech was certainly of account—no theologian, but a remarkable orator and endowed with inexhaustible activity of a rough-and-tumble sort. Under Bern's auspices Farel evangelized the Bernese possessions in Vaud. Then, with the assistance of a convert from Orbe, Jacques Viret, he carried the campaign into Savoy territory.

Photo. Ballance.

The Castle of Chillon

The work was dangerous; Farel was shot at, Viret was nearly killed by a priest with a sword; but their mission prospered, and its final triumph was the conversion of Geneva. In 1533 the bishop fled from the town; in 1536 the citizens declared unanimously for the Reformation.

Meanwhile the Duke of Savoy formed fresh designs upon Geneva. Francis I. was ready to offer his protection, but Bern was first on the spot. The idea of combining the support of Reformed principles with the acquisition of territory was one that specially appealed to Bernese statesmen. In 1536, accordingly, after a formal declaration of war upon Savoy, 6000 Bernese under Johann Franz Nägeli left their city upon a tour of annexation. They were welcomed and offered aid by Payerne, Bern's ally. Payerne was informed that what Bern asked was not welcome or aid, but submission. The cloven hoof was now revealed, and Vaud, which had hoped to gain something from Bernese intervention, learnt what it was really to expect. Town and country alike were subdued; old institutions were overthrown and replaced by Bernese bailiffs, who governed the land rigidly on strict Protestant principles. Not only Vaud, but the Chablais south of Lake Leman was invaded. The Bernese incursions were checked in a friendly spirit by the people of the Upper Valais, who, since annexation was in fashion, announced their intention of seizing the Savoy territory between St Maurice and Thonon. Freiburg was also busy annexing in a smaller way to the north. The Duke of Savoy was helpless; only a few shots were fired in the whole campaign. Chillon held out; but a combined attack by Bernese artillery on land, and Genevan artillery mounted on barges on the lake, reduced it to submission in a day, and Bonivard was released after six years' confinement. Byron's account of his sufferings, it need hardly be said, is marked by very considerable poetic licence.

When Nägeli and his men entered Geneva they sought to assert ownership. The Genevans were furious; and since the forces of Francis I. were in the neighbourhood, picking up portions of distracted Savoy, Nägeli did not press his claim but left Geneva her rights. Lausanne was less fortunate. Although the city had made an alliance with Bern in 1525 it was annexed and its rights abruptly cancelled. Even in this sacred Catholic city the Reformation was introduced after a great public debate, organized by the conquerors, in which the upholders of the old faith were apparently too nervous to take a prominent part.

For over two hundred and fifty years after this Vaud and Lausanne remained under the just and careful, but resolute, harsh and unbending rule of Bern.

One more annexation by the Bernese remains to be chronicled. In 1528 the great monastery of Interlaken was suppressed and its property confiscated. Thus Bern became, and remained, mistress of all the region that is now called the Bernese Oberland.

(*iv.*) *Calvin*

Among the Protestant disputants at the great debate at Lausanne in 1536 was a new-comer to the district who took but a small part in the proceedings. He was a young Frenchman named Jean Calvin, and he gave observers the impression that he had not long to live. He was frail and sallow, bent in body though carrying his head high, victim of half a dozen chronic and painful diseases. Yet there was about him a passionate vivacity of glance and movement which betokened that whatever life this man carried in his feeble frame would be lived to the uttermost.

Calvin had only just taken up his abode at Geneva. Born in 1509 at Noyon, in Picardy, he had at first been intended for

the Church, but by his father's wish had turned to legal study. The call to the Reformed Faith came to him, after much spiritual agony, in 1532, and he took up the cause with an austere and strenuous devotion that was exceptional even in those early days of the movement. French soil was unsafe for Reformers; in 1535 Calvin was at Basel, and there he published the *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*. It was a small book for its day, but it gave the keynote of Calvin's doctrine, and developed a new phase of the Reformation. Hitherto the movement had been emancipatory in its nature. Luther and Zwingli had been essentially liberators; they had, so far as their power extended, struck down the old Catholic system and claimed freedom of thought within the limits marked by the Scriptures. It was Calvin's conviction, however, that the old system could never be effectively overthrown by mere emancipatory agitation; it must be confronted by a new system as firmly based as itself, and even more rigid.

This new system Calvin erected with a remorseless logic that is still the wonder of theologians. The mastery of the Church over the souls of men was replaced by the mastery of God over the souls of men—of God, that is, as interpreted by Jean Calvin. The destiny of each being was unalterably fixed by God's decree, and life on earth was but a phase in the fulfilment of His will. Hence it followed that that life must be ruled by the authorized exponents of God's will, with resolute suppression of all human weaknesses that conflicted with the larger divine purpose. The State was simply to be the pliant instrument of the Church in punishing fleshly trespasses by fleshly means.

From Basel Calvin journeyed to Ferrara, and on his return paid what was intended to be a passing visit to Farel at Geneva in 1536. Farel besought him to remain and put his new doctrines into practice; Calvin, nothing loth, took the opportunity. He went about the work with fiery energy, and by

February 1537 had induced the Town Council to adopt his system. Naturally there was a reaction among the citizens. The liberating aspect of the Reformation had hitherto been pronounced at Geneva; the movements for religious and political freedom had gone hand in hand, and their pioneers were by no means above the gaieties of life. The citizens were in no mind to have the Catholic King Log replaced by the Calvinist King Stork. Calvin's violent censures, his interference with private affairs, and his veto upon all recreations, led to his being banished along with Farel in 1538.

For the next three years he remained at Strassburg. Meanwhile there had been municipal misrule at Geneva; the Catholic Church had been making advances; the city was in fear of coming under the rule of Bern, which was Zwinglian in its faith, and looked on Calvinism with disfavour. The advanced Reform party prevailed in the Council. Calvin was invited back, and returned, with some unwillingness, in 1540. Having returned he fastened his grim theocratic system upon the city with a merciless grip. Of all tyrants the doctrinaire tyrant is the most terrible. And Calvin was the world's arch-doctrinaire. The supreme power in the city's government rested with the Consistory, a body of twelve, consisting half of clergy and half of grave and elderly laymen. The Council was little more than the executor of the Consistory's will. No private house but had to open its doors at the Consistory's coming; meals, attire and all domestic usages were regulated by it, and woe betide the sinner who disobeyed its orders. Cards, dancing, theatres and all amusements whatever were rigidly forbidden. Drunkenness and all kinds of vice were punished as murder.

Nor were the punishments gentle. The "city of God," as Calvin wished to be able to call Geneva, was also a city of persecution. The headsman was kept busy, the torture chamber was by no means left out of use. The severest

chastisements of all were for those who denied Calvin's doctrine Servetus, a sincere but rash Reformer who denied the Trinity, was burnt at the stake in 1553—Calvin's worst act of religious tyranny. The Council from time to time tried to assert itself, and the anti-Calvin party was as active as it dared to be. But the flocking to Geneva of Reformers from other lands, all of whom were granted citizenship, placed the old citizens in a minority, and indeed permanently gave the city a mixed racial composition. In 1555, however, the anti-Calvinists made a forlorn attempt at a rising, but were ruthlessly suppressed. Besides the Reformers from other lands who sought citizenship, many foreign leaders of the movement came to sit at the feet of Calvin, and afterwards carried his system back to their own lands. The religious influence of Geneva was perpetuated by the founding in 1559 of the Academy for Reformed preachers. This was one of the latest acts of Calvin's life. In 1564 the time came when the indomitable spirit could no longer sustain the frail body; he died at the age of fifty-five, and Geneva passed under the gentler sway of his successor, Beza, the rigours of whose faith were modified by remembrance of a human and festive youth.

To our tolerant age Calvin assumes an aspect almost monstrous, and his rule of Geneva seems like a nightmare. Calvin was no monster; he was the mental prey of his own system, with its dreadful basis on the doctrine of predestination. He believed himself to be its inspired prophet—he ordered punishments for those who spoke of him personally with disrespect—and in enforcing it he had the driving power of a whole-souled and obsessing belief in its righteousness. Outside the system Calvin was human. His private correspondence reveals him delighting in a child's laughter, seeking friendships, giving comfort to the afflicted. But once the system was threatened he knew no mercy. Such was Jean Calvin, who

raised Geneva from obscurity to make it for long years the Rome of the Reformation.

Although Calvinism had necessarily an influence upon Protestantism in German Switzerland, that influence was less than in some far more distant countries. Bullinger of Zürich leaned to Calvin's system in his old age, and Genevan doctrines make an appearance in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566. But Zwinglianism continued to give the prevailing colour to the Swiss Reformation.

(*v.*) *The Counter-Reformation*

As the sixteenth century progressed, however, the Protestants could less and less afford to indulge in discords among themselves. The Roman Catholic Church, taken aback at first by the swiftness and vehemence of the revolt against her, slowly rallied her forces and began a deliberate campaign to re-establish herself. Her policy was threefold. The first item of it was reform of internal abuses; looseness of morals was suppressed among the clergy, the sale of indulgences was forbidden, and her agents generally were screwed up to a keener sense of their duties. The second item was vigorous revival of Church activity, and persecution or expulsion of heretics, in the lands that still owned Rome's supremacy. The third was an endeavour, by all means of persuasion, diplomacy and force, to win back the lands that Rome had lost. In this purpose the Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, were the Church's most efficient pioneers. Highly-trained, devoted, disinterested, and without scruple where the advancement of Rome was concerned, they quickly became a power in the Church and a cause of dread and horror to the Church's foes.

The formidable Emperor Charles V. lent his strength to the counter-Reformation; his rival, Francis I. of France,

although a Catholic, made full diplomatic use of the Reform movement, and thus the two forces were balanced for a time. But in 1547 Francis died; nine years later Charles abdicated, leaving the empire to his brother Ferdinand and Spain to his son, the sour bigot Philip II. In 1557 Philip's troops, under the Duke of Savoy, defeated the French at St Quentin, and the immediate result was the restoration to Savoy of the lands annexed by Francis I. Matters looked dangerous for the independent Protestant Republic of Geneva, and Bern's ownership of the lands wrested from Savoy seemed to be threatened. Ultimately, in 1564, Bern ceded Gex and Chablais to the Duke of Savoy, who also recovered Thonon from the Valais in 1569. The Duke, under Bernese pressure, agreed to leave Geneva at peace. Shortly before these events—in 1555—the house of Gruyères, long in decline, fell into hopeless bankruptcy, and Bern and Freiburg as chief creditors divided most of the estates between themselves. Thus the last but one of the great nobles disappeared from Swiss soil. The last of all was the Prince of Neuchâtel, whose title and estates passed ultimately, by a tortuous genealogical process, to the Hohenzollerns of Prussia.

The Confederation was at this time virtually dual in character. The Reformed cantons were apart from the others in religion, policy and tendencies. They became cities of refuge for all the persecuted in Europe. Already it has been noted how Bern's ally, Geneva, had welcomed and sheltered multitudes of exiles. Zürich was not less hospitable. During the reign of Mary many English Protestants found their way there and formed the warmest relations with Bullinger and the Zürich Reformers. The friendship of Bullinger with Lady Jane Grey was a touching episode in her tragic career, remembered by her even on the scaffold. Nor were Bern and Basel remiss in this pious duty. Switzerland did not lose by the coming of these immigrants, who helped to lay the foundations of her

modern industry. Zürich's staple silk trade, for example, was brought to her by a colony of Reformed Italian weavers, who had sought a home in Locarno, but had been expelled by the Catholic cantons.

The pouring of Protestant exiles into Switzerland was redoubled after the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572. This terrible event revealed France to the Protestant cantons as for the time being a worse enemy of the Reformation even than Spain; the Catholic cantons themselves shuddered at the news. France became suddenly unpopular in Switzerland, and the French king Charles IX., who valued his Swiss mercenaries—they had done him rare service in 1567 under the valiant Ludovic Pfyffer, whom the French called King of the Swiss—was anxious to retain the goodwill of the Confederation. He sent ambassadors to Switzerland with plausible explanations of the massacre, and at the same time menacingly demanded that Geneva should yield up certain Huguenot refugees. Bern bluntly replied that the explanations were of no avail, and that she would stand by her ally, Geneva. The Protestant cantons followed Bern's lead, but the Catholic cantons were cajoled into supplying the French king with all the mercenaries he required.

Soon afterwards the counter-Reformation reached its highest phase under the auspices of Spain. Its leading figure was the famous Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, an ecclesiastical statesman of the first rank both in piety and talent. Borromeo linked up the Swiss Catholic cantons definitely with the new Catholic movement by gaining for it their pledged and combined support, and by securing for them, in 1587, an alliance with Philip II. There was severe friction in the cantons that were divided in faith; Appenzell, in particular, was torn with dissensions, which were solved by its division into two half-cantons, the Catholics occupying the *Inner-Rhoden* and the Protestants the *Ausser-Rhoden*. It is remarkable, indeed, that the Confederacy did not split altogether in twain. But

in spite of the clash of interests between the two sections the Diet continued to assemble, and the old bond of the Perpetual League was faithfully preserved. The strain was great, but tradition and honour were equal to bearing it.

The Spanish power was extended in support of Savoy, and since, in the later years of the sixteenth century, France was hopelessly torn with civil conflict, the Duke of Savoy conceived the aim of recovering his former dominions. His enterprise was dangerous for Bern, still more dangerous for Geneva. Bern's usual resolution failed her at this time; her policy was pusillanimous and selfish. Her object was to hold the territory she had won, and if possible to increase it, by means of intrigue; for the fate of her ally Geneva she cared nothing. The Genevans, left to their own resources, made a valorous defence. They waged a long intermittent war with the duke and his Spanish allies, and for a time held the Gex country, which Savoy had recovered from Bern in 1564. Ultimately Henry IV. of France, freed at last from civil war, intervened in 1601 and Savoy collapsed before him. Henry took Gex for himself, and retired, leaving Savoy still at issue with Geneva.

On the night of 21st December 1602 the duke made a final determined effort to conquer the hated city. An army was assembled in secret, and stole with scaling-ladders under cover of darkness to the walls of the city. Two hundred men had already mounted the walls, and were raising the portcullis of the Porte Neuve to admit the main body waiting without, when the alarm was given by the accidental firing of a shot. The citizens tumbled out half-dressed with the first weapons they could lay hands upon. A smart gunner directed his cannon along the walls and bowled over all the scaling-ladders with a single discharge. The men who had entered the town were slain or captured after a furious struggle in the dark; the duke and his army retired baffled; and the citizens crowded next morning into the Cathedral of St Peter, where the vener-

able Beza intoned Psalm cxxiv. "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may Israel say—"

After this famous episode, known as the Escalade, Geneva was safe. France, Spain, the Pope and the Confederacy joined in inducing the Duke of Savoy to abstain from attacking the city or the lands in its neighbourhood. Savoy did not keep faith with strictness, but Geneva's freedom was not again gravely imperilled.

The political impotence with which the Reformation had smitten the Swiss Confederacy was accompanied by a compensating vigour of intellectual activity. The country saw the full development of Renaissance architecture and Renaissance learning. The names of the great theologians have already occurred in these pages; space must be found for those of the great scholars—Glarean, Vadianus, and the scholar-reformer, Conrad Gesner, the first man to climb the Swiss mountains for sheer joy in climbing, the prophet, as it were, of Alpine mountaineering. It was in this century, moreover, that Tschudi wrote his *Swiss Chronicle*. Born in 1505 and trained at Basel and Paris, Tschudi rose to be Landammann of his native Glarus, albeit he adhered to the Catholic faith of his fathers. But his tastes were archæological rather than political; he was a collector of traditions, a reader of documents, an inquirer into dialects. In his lifetime were published a survey by him of ancient Rhætia and an archæological dictionary. He died in 1572 without completing his *Swiss Chronicle*, which was not published until 1734. It gives the legendary or semi-legendary narrative of the heroic age of his country in language which by its romantic power, fine direct simplicity, and patriotic fervour, has earned him a high and assured place, if not among historians, at any rate among historical story-tellers. A man would be well-equipped in honour and excellence, declared Goethe, "without the reading of any book other than the *Swiss Chronicle* of Tschudi."

(*vi.*) *The Thirty Years' War—Swiss Independence*

It may be readily understood how the political paralysis of the Confederacy prevented it from taking any part in the Thirty Years' War that raged in mid-Europe between 1618 and 1648; and in this respect the paralysis was providential. But it is necessary to explain how the Grisons Leagues were most gravely involved in this war. The key to the situation is the Valtellina, the rich valley south of the main Alpine chain, which descends in a westerly direction from the Stelvio Pass to the head of Lake Como. The Valtellina was thus the most direct route between Tyrol, in possession of the Imperial branch of the Habsburgs, and Milan, in possession of the Spanish branch of the family. It formed a most valuable link between the two Habsburg realms, and it was a link that France, in her long sixteenth-century struggle with Spain, strove to keep severed. The valley belonged to the Grisons Leagues, which ruled its inhabitants with severity as a dependent community.

We have seen how Spain aided the Duke of Savoy in his threats against Geneva and Bern. That also was part of the scheme of Habsburg co-operation, to which the Swiss Confederacy was an obstacle. The renewal of the Franco-Swiss alliance in 1602 put an end to Habsburg hopes in that direction. But the Valtellina was more essential, and the outlook there more promising. Spain, France and Venice all intrigued and spent money in the Grisons with a view of gaining their own ends in the coveted valley. Factions grew up, called after the families that headed them. The Plantas stood for Austria and Spain; the Salis for France, and the Travers for Venice. The Plantas, it need not be said, were Catholic, the Salis Protestant; it should be added that of the three Leagues two—that of God's House and that of the Ten Jurisdictions—were

Protestant, while the other—the Upper or Grey League—was Catholic.

In 1618 the coming storm was heralded by the appearance on the scene of George Jenatsch. Born at Samaden in 1596, Jenatsch had had the training of a Protestant pastor, and had for three years been minister at Scharans. But the pulpit was precisely the sphere of activity for which Jenatsch was least fitted. As soon as swords were drawn he cast aside his clerical gown for ever. The trouble in the Grisons began with a quarrel in the Travers family, one branch of which adhered to Venice, while the other joined forces with the Plantas on behalf of Spain. A murderous conflict was ended by the intervention of the Travers ladies, headed by Anna Juvalta, who risked her life to check the fray. The influence of Spain now prevailed in the Valtellina, and Jenatsch, having joined with other Protestant pastors in inciting to a holy war, took the lead himself by directing a successful attack upon the Plantas at Zernetz in the Lower Engadine. He then took part in a tribunal at Thusis which engaged in the wholesale execution and proscription of Catholics.

Meanwhile the revolt of Bohemia gave the signal for the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the great struggle between the emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany in which one European power after another found itself involved. The possession of the Valtellina now became vital to Spain and Austria, and in July 1620, at the instigation of Pompey Planta, an Italian force not only seized the valley but most brutally massacred the Protestant inhabitants. The deed is held up to abhorrence in history as the St Bartholomew of the Grisons. Two of the Leagues — the Upper League, being Catholic, refused to act—made preparations for revenge, and secured aid from Bern and Zürich. The Bernese contingent was cut up near Tirano, its leader, von Mulinen, refusing to surrender and dying in a manner worthy of the finest Swiss traditions.

The Zürich men drove the Spaniards back to Tirano, but could not take the place and retired.

This check demoralized the Grisons Leagues, which sought to come to terms with the enemy. But Jenatsch was irreconcilable. With a band of twenty men—the Companions of the Generous Heart as they called themselves—he suddenly attacked Pompey Planta's castle of Rietberg in the Domleschg Valley. The author of the Valtellina massacres was hunted from room to room, captured, hurled down, and his body pinned to the floor by a tremendous blow from Jenatsch's axe. Jenatsch then gathered levies, defeated the Catholics near Valendas, and forced the Upper League to abandon an alliance it had just formed with Spain. But meanwhile the empire was triumphing over its German Protestant foes, and the Imperial forces were able to devote some attention to crushing the Grisons. In the autumn of 1621 Austrian troops overran the Engadine and the Prättigau, laying the country waste and slaughtering men, women and children; there never was a crueller war than the Thirty Years' War. The Leagues resisted magnificently; even after Jenatsch had been overcome by superior numbers and had fled to Germany, the inhabitants struggled with a bitter desperation against the invaders, and women fought like tigresses by the side of their menfolk. But it was hopeless; the devastated and depopulated country had to yield, the Lower Engadine and the Prättigau became Austrian and the Valtellina was held by Spain.

The success of the emperor produced a reaction, and all Germany's neighbours—except Switzerland, tied to inactivity by its religious divisions—intervened to redress the balance. France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden under its illustrious monarch Gustavus Adolphus, combined to bring down the Imperial ascendancy. We are here chiefly concerned with the doings of France, now controlled by the master-diplomatist Richelieu. In 1625 the French secured the Valtellina but left

it to govern itself. In 1629 there seemed a likelihood of a tremendous conflict in Northern Italy between French and Austrians; but peace was made—a fortunate peace for the Grisons, for the Austrians evacuated the country and left it to French protection. The Valtellina again fell into Austrian and Spanish hands; but in 1635 the Duc de Rohan, the great Huguenot leader, led a French army into the region, was joined by Jenatsch and a body of Grisons men, and drove the enemy out of the valley after a short but stirring campaign. Jenatsch now demanded that the valley should be restored to the Grisons Leagues; Rohan insisted on keeping it for France. Jenatsch was not a person given either to hesitation or scruple. He turned Catholic, incited his countrymen against the French, and called in Austrian and Spanish aid. By these means he expelled Rohan from the Valtellina in 1637, and in 1639 Jenatsch's new allies gave the valley back to the Grisons, and renounced all rights in the Grisons regions except the lordships of Räzuns and Tarasp, which remained Austrian enclaves until the early part of last century. Jenatsch did not live to see the peace completed. When at a feast he was assassinated by two masked men, one of whom smote him with the very axe that had cloven Pompey Planta eighteen years before.

Although war had raged nearly all round the lands of the Swiss Confederacy—for Franche Comté was among the bones of contention between French and Spaniards—and although many thousands of Swiss mercenaries had fought in the French and other armies, the Confederacy was at peace throughout the entire struggle. Yet it gained substantially by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Through the efforts of John Rudolph Wettstein, burgomaster of Basel and the leading Swiss statesman of his day, the Confederacy's independence of the empire became a guaranteed reality. The Grisons Leagues, also, won recognition of their independence at the same time. Many hard things have been said of the Peace of Westphalia. But

its date is a date to be honoured in that to Switzerland and the Netherlands—heroic little lands akin in spirit in despite of their utter physical dissimilarity—it brought full confirmation of that freedom for which both had so manfully striven in earlier days.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Wildhaus in the Toggenburg Valley, where the house in which Zwingli was born is preserved.

Zürich—Zwingli statue. Zwingli's battle-axe, sword, helmet and coat-of-mail are preserved in the Arsenal.

Battlefield of Kappel.

Bern—Fountains.

Lausanne.

Castle of Chillon.

Interlaken Monastery (now hospital and government offices).

Neuchâtel—Statue of Farel.

Geneva—Calvinium (concert-hall) in the Salle de la Reformation, containing memorials of Calvin. Calvin's chair in the cathedral. Collège de St Antoine, founded by Calvin.

Escalade Monument. The ladders used in the Escalade are in the Arsenal.

Valtellina, Tirano.

Samaden, birthplace of Jenatz. Ancient house of the Planta family.

Zernetz.

Thusis.

Rietberg (Domleschg Valley).

Monument to Duc de Rohan at Geneva.

CHAPTER IX

THE DECADENT AGE

(*i.*) *French Influence*

THE age of Swiss history that lies between the Peace of Westphalia and the French Revolution is the least eventful, and on the whole the least important, in the nation's career. It was a period of supineness; it lacked the vitalizing influences of the heroic age, of the Reformation, and of the modern era of political and economic progress. The divisions that had sprung up within the Confederacy during the religious conflict were sullenly maintained, and indeed intensified; no advance was made towards a national internal polity, and in external affairs these divisions rendered the country almost impotent. The rule of the separate cantons fell more and more into the hands of official and privileged oligarchies. The military skill and valour of the Swiss showed no decline, but except for occasional spasms of civil conflict it was wholly displayed in the service of the foreigner. Yet it was during this era of political decay that Switzerland reached her highest phase of intellectual eminence. In other lands—England, for example—it has often been quite otherwise. The matter is one upon which history affords most confusing guidance.

The decadent age of Switzerland, as it is commonly and rightly called from the political standpoint, has four outstanding features which may be treated separately. The first is the dominance of France. The second is the prevalence of oligar-

chical government in internal affairs. The third is the recurrence of civil commotions; some religious, others economic, others political and in the nature of revolt—mutterings of the coming storm. The fourth is the development of Switzerland's intellectual golden age.

The dominance of France must not be understood as equivalent to suzerainty or control. The Confederates always claimed to be free agents, and at times exercised their freedom. During most of the seventeenth century, indeed, the Protestant cantons were not in alliance with France at all. But the French alliances and French intrigues were the prevailing influence in Swiss foreign policy throughout the period, and although Swiss soldiers were to be found in nearly every European army, they were always most numerous in the French army. It was on account of the fighting value of the Swiss that the Bourbon kings chiefly sought Switzerland's alliance; the Confederates, on their part, welcomed the subsidies that the Bourbons paid or promised, and felt, besides—a falling-off from the heroic age—the necessity of a powerful protector to stand by them amid the turmoils of European controversy.

The policy of a Franco-Swiss alliance, founded by Louis XI., was confirmed, as we have seen, by Henry IV. It received a new definiteness and expansiveness early in the reign of Louis XIV. France had helped Switzerland to gain independence in 1648, and in 1663 Swiss gratitude had not diminished. The offer of a renewal of Henry IV.'s alliance was welcomed against the counsels of Wettstein and other judicious statesmen; the Swiss delegation that visited Paris to confirm the treaty was greeted with impressive ceremony and gorgeous hospitality. But when the eyes of the delegates were no longer dazzled by the splendours of Paris they began to discover that there was more in the new treaty than they had supposed. The alliance was deemed by Louis to be offensive as well as defensive, and he declined to recognize any limit to

the number of Swiss troops he might demand for his service. He created consternation among the Protestant Swiss, moreover, by requiring them to serve against fellow-Protestants. Some of the soldiery refused to fight the Dutch, and were given very short shrift in consequence. One result of these frictions was that numerous Swiss from the Protestant cantons enlisted in the service of Holland and other Reformed states, and at Blenheim, Oudenarde and other great battles of Louis XIV.'s wars Swiss soldiers fought with distinction on both sides. The extent to which mercenary fighting was a national industry is shown by some statistics of 1748, by which it appears that 75,800 Swiss were in foreign military service—22,000 for France, 20,000 for Holland, 13,600 (from the Catholic cantons) for Spain, and the rest for Hungary, Naples, Piedmont and the emperor. The total population of Switzerland at this time did not reach 1,800,000.

There were three other causes of trouble between France and the Protestant cantons. One was the welcome extended to Huguenot refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The Protestant Swiss received them with open arms, just as they had received the English regicides who had sought shelter in Vaud after the collapse of the Commonwealth in 1660; and the Huguenots well repaid this hospitality by developing Swiss industry at a time when the native manhood was largely engaged upon foreign wars. But this cherishing of his escaped victims was naturally viewed by Louis with an unfriendly eye. Another cause of dispute was the attempt of France upon Savoy, whose resistance to his designs was vigorously supported by Bern. Louis was really a serious loser by these designs, for Prince Eugene of Savoy proved, after Marlborough, the most dangerous of France's military opponents in the war of the Spanish succession. Finally, there was the dispute over the Principality of Neuchâtel. The title had been held for nearly two centuries by the family of d'Orleans

Longueville, which became extinct in 1707. A few years before then the Three Estates of Neuchâtel had asserted their right to decide upon the succession should it fall vacant. There were several claimants to the title; chief among them were the Prince de Conti, supported by Louis XIV., and King Frederick I. of Prussia. The Three Estates chose the King of Prussia. Louis proposed to invade the country, and Bern and Zürich made preparations to oppose him. But Louis's hands were very full just then, and in 1708 he grudgingly and partially recognized the rights of Hohenzollern in Neuchâtel.

Along with these particular causes of dispute there was the broad fact that France was now the chief upholder in Europe of Catholicism and reaction, just as Austria had been a century before. Hence it was to be expected that when the French alliance came up for renewal in 1725, the Protestant cantons would not continue it. The Catholic cantons, however, were quite ready to retain the link with France. The division between the two groups had gone so far that the Confederate Diet had not met since 1663. The Catholic and Protestant cantons gathered in separate Diets, and afterwards negotiated with each other as distinct Powers. Until 1776 the Protestants abstained from the French alliance. In that year Louis XVI. had ascended the throne, and all Europe had bright hopes of his career. He sent to Switzerland a brother of his minister, Vergennes, with assurances that the former French policy of taking advantage of Swiss divisions would be abandoned, and that France was ready to renew the alliance with the whole Swiss people on terms of confidence and fraternity. His overtures were favourably received; the Confederate Diet reassembled after an interval of one hundred and thirteen years, and a treaty assuring Switzerland of France's protection and giving her valuable commercial advantages in return for the services of a large military force was accepted with cordiality. The oath of alliance was taken at Bern in 1777, and French and

Swiss vied with each other in the giving of dinners, dances and firework displays.

It was not to be so long before Frenchmen of another type and other opinions were to come to Bern.

(*ii.*) *The Bernese Oligarchy*

It has already been seen that Confederate politics as a whole, during the period we are now considering, were quite unprogressive. There was no tendency towards closer union; during most of the period, indeed, the Confederacy was split into two parts. There were men ahead of their time who sought to strengthen the Confederacy. In the mid-seventeenth century General von Erlach of Bern and Burgomaster Waser of Zürich proposed that the varying treaties by which the states were united to each other should be abolished and replaced by a single instrument placing all on uniform terms. Sarrasin of Geneva afterwards suggested a nearer approach to a unitary system on the model of the States-General of Holland. These tentatives, however, were of no avail.

Meanwhile oligarchy was laying a firm grip on the civic cantons. It is a natural tendency for corporations to become close corporations, and the tendency was aided in Switzerland by the growth of an official class that monopolized for itself all the positions of rule in the subject lands. Even in the democratic rural cantons the influence of this official class made itself strongly felt. The Landsgemeinden, or popular assemblies, continued to meet, and did not allow themselves to be overruled. But positions of honour and profit, in the country as in the cities, became the prerogative of certain families that gave themselves airs of nobility. Political rights in the rural cantons, moreover, were strictly limited to the owners of the soil; no stranger could become enfranchised.

Town Hall, Bern

But if the ancient democracy survived in the country there was but little trace of it in the towns. All the towns tended towards oligarchy, and the leading example was Bern. This city formed as illuminating an instance of the virtues and defects of patrician rule as ancient Rome or Venice. Bern was always aristocratically inclined; its chief citizens were recruited from the local nobility, it was disposed to look upon trade as beneath its dignity, and as the largest Swiss owner of subject lands it had a specially powerful official class. A popular movement that had been timed to coincide with the Burgundian war had won a certain amount of emancipation for the populace. But in the first half of the seventeenth century the patricians reasserted themselves; the ruling power was restricted to 380 families, and the actual exercise of authority was gradually narrowed down to a group of families not exceeding eighty in number.

These formed as rigorous an oligarchy as the world has ever known. The Bernese patricians were not a class of the kind that disgusts its subjects by dissoluteness and reckless wrongdoing. They had the Samurai spirit; they deemed themselves born to rule, and undertook the task in gravity and deep conscientiousness. Their administration was severe, but not unjust or cruel, save when their supremacy was threatened. They bore themselves with an austere detachment; they shunned intercourse or contact with the people they governed, save so far as the necessities of government required; in carriage and manner, in the exactingness of their etiquette, in the gradations of their titles and dignities, and in the formal pomp of their festivities, they maintained and emphasized an aloofness that even the proudest and most ancient aristocracies have never surpassed.

The Bernese community was divided into three groups. Beneath the patricians, " Leurs Excellences les Messieurs de Berne," as they were called, came the middle-class, mercantile

and professional, allowed to exercise its functions under whatever restrictions Leurs Excellences thought fit to impose, but absolutely denied all political power. Beneath these, again, came the workmen and peasants, who were virtually in a state of serfdom. The middle-class was occasionally restive, and the patricians were badly scared by an attempted rising in 1749 under Samuel Henzi, a man of exceptional spirit and culture. The insurrection was nipped in the bud, but the fortitude of Henzi is not forgotten. In the torture-chamber he tore up the list of his fellow-conspirators and swallowed the fragments. Afterwards, on the scaffold with two companions, he carried himself with absolute calmness. "What a butchery!" he exclaimed as the clumsy executioner took three strokes to hew off a comrade's head. The executioner lost his nerve, and when Henzi's turn came the first blow mutilated but did not slay him. "You execute as your masters judge!" was Henzi's parting shot before the falling of the second and decisive stroke.

In other Swiss towns—Basel, Zürich, Lucerne, Freiburg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen—an oligarchical system prevailed, although in no case with quite the steely characteristics of the Bernese oligarchy. In Basel and Zürich, the chief commercial towns, patrician severities were to some extent modified by popular revolt; but the oligarchical type of government prevailed throughout the period, even in these two cities. Another kind of rule that was made evident on Swiss soil at this time was ecclesiastical absolutism. The Bishops of Basel and the Abbots of St Gall both sought to rule their subjects with a strong hand, and had considerable difficulty in doing so—especially in the case of the Protestant subjects, who had the sympathy of the Reformed cantons. The Abbots of Engelberg, on the other hand, exercised their sway with mildness, and were rewarded by the perfect contentment of their community.

Note must now be taken of the Confederation's prominent

ally, Geneva, whose civil broils have a special import in that they were impressed upon a youth whose opinions, in later days, were to disturb the universe. Geneva had altered since the days of Calvin. The old rigorous laws still existed; but they were for the most part unobserved, and the city was gaining a new reputation for the freedom of its citizens in religious thought and their restless energy in worldly affairs. In Geneva, as elsewhere, the governance had passed into the hands of a few privileged families, and there was the same division between upper, middle and lower classes that has been observed in the case of Bern. An insurrection broke out in 1707 under Pierre Fatio, a large-hearted patrician who demanded the election of the Council by popular vote. The time was not ripe for revolt; the oligarchs, aided by Bernese and Zürich contingents, suppressed Fatio's movement, and Fatio himself was imprisoned and afterwards shot.

The reform agitation, however, smouldered during the succeeding years, the years of the boyhood of Jean Jacques Rousseau. In 1734 a new revolt occurred, and was suppressed; in 1737 it broke out again, and this time amendments to the Constitution were insisted upon which came into operation in 1738. During the following years, however, there was frequent friction between patricians and plebeians; the Constitutional changes brought improvement, but they did not bring political peace.

(*iii.*) *Wars and Tumults—Major Davel*

Besides the local tumults of which some narration has just been given, there were in Switzerland during the period under consideration several struggles of a wider character. The country was disturbed by a revolt of the peasantry, by two religious wars, and by restlessness of the subject populations owing to the oppression of their cantonal and clerical overlords.

The peasants' revolt of 1653 has often been described as an attempt at political emancipation, but its causes seem to have been purely economic. Heavy taxation was one of them; another, which gave the immediate stimulus to the rising, was the condition in which the peasantry found themselves after the Thirty Years' War. The devastation of South Germany during the conflict was all to the profit of the Swiss rural districts; their inhabitants lived extravagantly and borrowed money with cheerful disregard of the future. When the war ended and Suabia began to recover, the prices of rural produce dropped abruptly; there was a severe depreciation of currency, and the peasantry found themselves in danger of ruin. Appeals to the cantonal authorities were of no avail, and the peasants took matters into their own hands. The men of the Entlebuch began the revolt; they marched through the countryside headed by the "three Tells"—stalwart mountaineers dressed in antique costume—and peasants from many districts rallied to their banner. At length Bern was threatened by 20,000 rebels. The city was thoroughly alarmed and anxious to make terms, but was rescued from its plight by the intervention of an army of its Vaudois subjects. The Confederates now grappled firmly with the situation; they raised a large force, compelled the militant peasants to retreat into Aargau, and there broke them up and defeated them piecemeal. The insurrection had none of the excesses that have usually been associated with peasant revolts. Its leader, Nicholas Leuenberg, kept his men well in hand and conducted the campaign with a fine humanity. But that did not save him and his comrades from barbarous punishment when the campaign was over.

Of religious wars during the period we are reviewing there were two, and two only; considering the acuteness of feeling that existed, it is surprising that there were no more. The two wars were fifty-six years apart; the decisive battle in both

was fought at the same place, and the result of the second was the exact reverse of the first. The dispute that gave rise to the first Villmergen campaign in 1656 was due to the ill-treatment by Schwyz of certain Protestants of Arth. Bern and Zürich took up arms on the Protestants' behalf, but a Bernese force was defeated by the men of the Catholic cantons at Villmergen in the Aargau, and the two cities were obliged to conclude an unsatisfactory peace. In 1712 Bern and Zürich again took up arms, this time on behalf of the Protestants of the Toggenburg Valley, who were demanding emancipation from the Abbot of St Gall. The Catholic cantons, stirred by papal agencies, espoused the Abbot's cause. The issue was fought out on the old ground of Villmergen, and this time the Bernese, although poorly supported by Zürich, gained a handsome victory. A reconciliation was brought about between the Abbot and his Toggenburg subjects, who gained a considerable measure of liberty.

Most of the political revolts during this period, in town and country, have already been touched upon. It has to be added that in 1755 the people of the Val Leventina rose against the harsh rule of Uri. In ten days the revolt was suppressed and the ringleaders hanged, and the rule of Uri became harsher than ever. There was no nonsense about the methods of these democratic communities when they conceived their authority to be in danger. One more insurrection remains to be chronicled—the strangest in Swiss history, perhaps in any history, for it was an insurrection of one man. The records of rebellion betray no figure more quixotic, more melancholy, or more noble than the figure of Major Davel.

Jean-Daniel-Abram Davel was the son of a Vaudois pastor, and was born in 1670. From 1689 to 1705 or 1706 he fought in the service of Holland; afterwards he entered that of France, and by 1712 had returned from abroad to take a distinguished part in the second battle of Villmergen. He had the confi-

dence of the Bernese masters of Vaud, and was given command of a military district to the east of Lausanne. For ten years or so he held this appointment, winning throughout the countryside a repute as a model of simplicity and probity.

Meanwhile he brooded constantly and earnestly on the wrongs of his country. Vaud, undoubtedly, was deeply wronged by her overlords. The Estates of Vaud had been suppressed in spite of promises that they would be maintained. Few vestiges of earlier liberties remained, and the haughty efficiency of the Bernese central government was not now manifest in the administration of the subject lands. The rulers were sometimes unjust, always oppressive, and always negligent. Communications were in a shocking state, and the country was tormented by brigandage. Bern, moreover, was at this time exercising a rigid tyranny over the consciences of her subjects, and her harsh enforcement of a narrow Protestant code, known as the Consensus, was rousing courageous and vain opposition among the savants of Lausanne.

Davel determined that an effort must be made to end these evils, and that he himself must make it. He believed, as other simple souls have done, that only a summons and a leader were required for rousing the people to strike at their oppressors; he failed to reckon with the inertia of acquiescence that the reformer must patiently overcome. He thought of himself as divinely inspired for his mission, like Joan of Arc; his mind had been influenced by a prophetess who had declared when he was a youth that he was destined for great deeds. Not a soul was admitted into the secret of his enterprise; he prepared for it, not by conspiracy and stratagem, but by prayer and fasting.

The 31st of March 1723 was the day appointed for the liberation of Vaud. The troops under Davel's command, 500 foot and a small body of cavalry, were ordered to assemble in the market-place of Cully. They marched off to Lausanne,

totally bewildered and ignorant of what was afoot. At three in the afternoon Davel and his men tramped into Lausanne to the music of fifes and drums, and drew up in front of the cathedral. The deputy-burgomaster and the city treasurer promptly came to demand the meaning of this armed intrusion, and deemed it advisable to convoke the council. While the councillors were gathering Davel drew the officials aside, read to them a manifesto and an appeal to the people of Lausanne that acquainted them with his purpose, and asked them to communicate these documents to the council. They did so; the alarmed councillors, assuming naturally enough that Davel was at the head of a formidable conspiracy, decided to speak him fair, and at the same time sent off a messenger post-haste to Bern. Davel was admitted to the meeting, discoursed on his plan, and was overjoyed at the nervous politeness of the councillors. That night he and his soldiers—judiciously scattered all over the town—were entertained at the public expense.

During the night, also, the militia of the city and district was hurriedly assembled, while the council sat in anxious conference till dawn. On the next morning (by a bitter irony, the 1st of April), Davel, as he stepped into the street, was confronted with a body of militia and told that he was under arrest. For an instant he was smitten by the cruelty of disillusionment; he asked if he had misunderstood, he sought explanations and received none. Then he recovered himself. "Truly I see that I shall be the victim in this affair," he said, "but it matters not—my country will benefit." With this prophecy—a true one, as it proved—he calmly gave up his sword.

During the grievous ordeals that followed Davel bore himself with a matchless constancy. The Bernese, who were so scared at first by the news from Lausanne that they asked for support from the other cantons, were bent on probing the supposed conspiracy to its roots. Davel was tortured to

induce him to confess the names of his confederates; he confessed nothing—he had no confederates. On 17th April he was brought to trial, and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. But the citizens of Lausanne, and even the Bernese themselves, were beginning to feel pity and a kind of admiration for this lonely disappointed man. The sentence was altered to one of simple decapitation.

A week later, on 24th April, Davel marched on foot, in his uniform, to the place of execution at Vidy on the outskirts. From the scaffold he gave an address to the multitude, while eight drummers stood by to drown his voice should he utter treason. He uttered no treason; he besought the Vaudois to abide by their faith and abandon looseness of life; he added that he doubted not that his death would produce excellent effects, not only for the Vaudois but for the Bernese, who had recognized the fidelity of their subjects. He ended by expressing a hope and belief that the evils against which he had protested would be reformed. Then came a sermon—an execution was a protracted affair in those days—and Davel was finally asked whether he sought pardon. His reply was that he repented nothing. He quietly took off his coat, and without a quiver of a muscle awaited the headsman's blow. One sweep of the sword and the simple, heroic spirit had passed away.

As Davel had predicted, he died not in vain. Leurs Excellences looked into the administrative abuses against which he had sought to stir revolt, and made many reforms. Process of time has brought poetic justice to this most forlorn and pathetic of reformers; he has become Vaud's national hero. A tablet commemorates him in Lausanne Cathedral, his statue has been reared in the castle square, and an unhewn stone with an inscription denotes the place of his death. In the temple of fame there are very few figures more strange and mournful, and very many less worthy of posterity's honour, than Jean-Daniel-Abram Davel.

(*iv.*) *The Literary Golden Age*

The intellectual movement in eighteenth-century Switzerland, which was in such sharp contrast with the political decadence of the time, was a twofold movement. It was partly German, with its centre in Zürich; partly French, with its centre in Geneva. In spite of Geneva's superior distinction in great names the Zürich movement was the more important of the two; for whereas Geneva was intellectually little more than a tributary of France, the Zürich men of letters helped to lay the foundations of an emancipated and indigenous German literature.

When J. J. Bodmer of Zürich (1698-1783) was in his young days, France was intellectually dominant over mid-Europe, and German letters were in a paralysing grip of French formalism. Against this Bodmer strove most energetically. He sought to counteract French influence with the bolder and less pedantic influence of England, and his publication of an English version of *Paradise Lost* marked a new epoch in German letters. Without being himself a great writer either of prose or poetry, Bodmer was a most effective pioneer. He and his friend, Breitinger, were sought out by Klopstock, Wieland and other founders of German native literature, and helped to inspire the poems, much esteemed by contemporary judges, of Solomon Gessner. The greatest Swiss poet of the time, however, was Albrecht von Haller of Bern (1708-1777). Haller was an all-round man—scholar, politician and administrator as well as poet. He was one of the first men to perceive the æsthetic glories of the Alps, and his satires on his native town, in which the pompous artificiality of the ruling class is contrasted with the simplicity of the peasants, are not only of notable literary quality, but give a rare insight into the manners of the time.

One of the great Zürich figures of the day was Johannes

Caspar Lavater (1741-1801). Protestant pastor, religious mystic and poet, a man whose breadth of view and gentle charm of character were known far beyond the city where he dwelt; Lavater's studies in physiognomy were really a by-product of his genius, but have helped more than anything else to preserve his memory. Late in the century came Pestalozzi, the mild educational reformer, who was baffled when he made a single-handed attempt to put his theories into practice. It was in this century, also, that Johannes von Muller (1752-1809) built up his famous and picturesque if not accurate Swiss history, based largely on the chronicle of Tschudi. Nor was Switzerland in this age devoid of men of science. In Euler and the three Bernullis Basel had mathematicians of universal fame, and Zürich boasted Scheuchzer, the naturalist (1672-1733). Scheuchzer, although he did debate whether a monster with two heads would have two souls, and although he did seek to prove the existence of dragons in the Alps—the undertaking for which he has the misfortune to be chiefly remembered—was a man of genuine learning and scientific enterprise, and the honours conferred on him by learned bodies in Vienna, Berlin and London are a plain token of his place in contemporary opinion.

With the intellectual movement in Western Switzerland it is not necessary to deal in detail, for, as we have already suggested, the literary history of Geneva is chiefly a part of the history of France. During the eighteenth century Geneva and Lausanne were centres of an intense intellectual activity. Literary people of France and other nations settled there, not only on account of the attractiveness of the places but on account of the comparative freedom from official interference. Hence Lake Leman was at this time a centre not so much of native as of European letters. The natives certainly contributed their share; the land has more than a simple residential claim on Rousseau, Madame de Stael and Benjamin Constant.

But all these three belonged in a literary sense to France rather than to Switzerland. Hence the details of their careers are in a large degree outside the province of the present work.

Yet Jean Jacques Rousseau does belong to Geneva in the sense that his birth and boyhood in that free and ultra-political city had a continuous influence on his career as a philosopher. He was born at Geneva in 1712; his father was a watchmaker and dancing-master, a descendant of a Huguenot refugee who had come to the town in Calvin's time. His mother died in giving him birth; the father had little natural affection, the boy's education was indifferent, and he became a prey to melancholy and morbid imaginings which account, no doubt, for many of the uglinesses of his life. His gloomy Genevan boyhood came to an end at the age of sixteen, when he set out on his astonishing travels. But Geneva never passed out of his mind. The circumstance that he was born in a small Republic with strong democratic tendencies is one of which we cannot but be reminded in examining his political philosophy —Geneva was always in his head, so to speak. Nor did he fail to maintain an interest, sometimes active, in Genevan affairs. When Voltaire was trying to introduce the drama into the city against the puritanical opposition of its rulers, Rousseau espoused the puritan cause, and wrote an attack on the stage which, considering that he himself was among other things a dramatist, and not by any means a moral paragon, was hardly consistent. But anyone who seeks for consistency in Rousseau's life history is seriously wasting his time. Let it be added that the scene of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Helöise*, that stupendous cataract of sentimental fiction, is chiefly laid around Lake Leman, and that the book gave an incentive to the gushing and hyperbolical admiration of Swiss scenery which has happily now given place to a saner and truer enthusiasm.

Of Madame de Stael little need be said here. She was the daughter of the French financial statesman, Necker—a

man of Genevan birth—and of his wife, Gibbon's early flame, the beautiful Suzanne Curchod. Madame de Stael was Swiss in nothing but her parents' origin; she declared significantly that the prospect of Lake Leman from her window in the morning pleased her less than the prospect of a Paris slum. Fate, however, in the form of Bonaparte, obliged her to spend long years of exile at Coppet, between Geneva and Nyon; she seems to have been the only person in the world of whom Bonaparte was really afraid. At Coppet she was visited by many political and literary celebrities; among others by Benjamin Constant, whose only connection with Switzerland was the fact that his father was a Swiss military man, and who engaged with Madame de Stael in the most important of his numerous affairs of the heart.

More truly native to the soil were Charles Bonnet (1720-1793), the Genevan philosopher, and Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, the Alpine geologist, who was born in Geneva in 1740 and died there in 1799. De Saussure inspired the first ascent of Mont Blanc by Paccard and Balmat, and was one of the earliest imitators of the feat. He was a true mountain lover, a clear-headed and energetic investigator whose studies are still of value, and a writer with natural gifts of taste, style and feeling—a man in whom his city has the best reasons for pride.

Two distinguished visitors to Lake Leman's shores cannot be omitted from this record. In 1755 Voltaire, attracted by the reputation of the famous Dr Tissot—a Vaudois medical man well ahead of his time—established himself at Lausanne. The Bernese governor gave him this characteristic greeting: "Monsieur de Voltaire, I understand that you have written against God; that is bad, but He will pardon you. I understand that you have written against the Saviour; that also is bad, but He will pardon you. But beware of writing against Leurs Excellences de Berne, for they will never pardon you." In 1758 Voltaire took up his residence at Ferney, within a few

miles of Geneva; and Ferney became a place of pilgrimage for all the great philosopher's admirers. His relations with the Genevan authorities were not altogether harmonious. The survivals of Calvinism in the city's mode of governance stirred his ironic spirit, and his repeated attempts to establish a theatre were seemingly prompted not only by the conviction that life without a theatre was not worth living, but by a wicked pleasure in making the Puritans uncomfortable.

Even as Geneva is associated with Voltaire, so is Lausanne associated with Edward Gibbon. He was sent there first to be cured of Roman Catholicism, to which he had suddenly adhered; the cure was so effective that he never afterwards professed any religion at all. At Lausanne he fell in love with Suzanne Curchod, daughter of a Vaudois pastor. His father forbade the match, and Gibbon, with deep and undoubtedly sincere professions of regret, broke it off. The years passed; Suzanne Curchod married one of the world's richest men, Gibbon wrote one of the world's greatest books. In 1783, at the age of forty-six, he came to Lausanne to dwell with his friend Deyverdun and complete *The Decline and Fall.* The old relationship with Suzanne, now Madame Necker, was renewed as a platonic intimacy, about which Necker did not worry himself in the least. The years of Gibbon's stay at Lausanne saw the coming and going of many eminent visitors; his literary court was as brilliant as Voltaire's at Ferney. The illustrious historian died in 1794, having seen with a foreboding eye phenomena for which even he, with his vast outlook over the ages, could find no parallel.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Battlefield of Villmergen.

Neuchâtel.

Zürich—Town Hall (1699), Bodmer's house in the Schönberggasse, busts of Lavater and Pestalozzi in the Town Library, memorial to Solomon Gessner.

Gemmi Pass (path made 1736-1741).

Bern—Kornhaus.

Geneva—Rousseau statue and Rousseau's birthplace in the Grand' Rue.

Ferney-Voltaire, near Geneva.

Coppet.

Lausanne—Davel statue, and monuments in the cathedral, at Cully, and at the place of execution (Vidy).

De Saussure Monument at Chamonix. (De Saussure's geological collection is preserved in the Natural History Museum at Geneva.)

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION

(*i.*) *Vaud*

At the end of the eighteenth century the decadent age of the Swiss Confederation abruptly reached its Nemesis and end, and the country underwent a violent ordeal which, for all its unreason and evil, was a necessary prelude to the formation of Switzerland as we see it to-day. The Confederation, at the outset of this lurid epoch, was still a loosely-connected body of small communities, their imperfect union further hampered by brooding dissensions. Ruling power was in some of these communities in the hands of a small minority, in all in the hands of a privileged class. Large districts were held in absolute subjection, although their populations were not inferior to their governors in physique, or intelligence, or capacity. Moreover, certain communities which seemed to be natural members of the Confederacy—the Grisons, the Valais, Geneva —were only attached to it in a casual way as allies.

It is not allowable to say that this state of things could not endure, for it did endure for a very long time. But the system was not one that could be maintained against a strong destructive and reconstructive impulse. The impulse came from without, and it was tremendously strong. The French Revolution made itself felt throughout the civilized world. It was bound to make itself felt very forcibly in a neighbouring country where most of the inhabitants were either in complete

dependence or under the tutelage of a restricted clique. The Revolution roughly swept away the excrescences that had grown upon Swiss polity; it even swept away the fundamentals of Swiss polity—for the confederate and cantonal organization of Switzerland is at the very root of the national life. But the fundamentals were permanently restored, and the excrescences only partially and for a time.

The earlier symptoms of revolutionary feeling in Switzerland were merely spasmodic, but sufficiently frequent to rouse foreboding. The French Revolution broke out in 1789, and by 1790 its influence began to be manifest in Vaud. The Vaudois were an active and progressive people; their generals and soldiers had won honour in many foreign campaigns; their chief city, Lausanne, was one of the intellectual centres of Europe. Yet the Vaudois were absolutely under the heel of a civic oligarchy. Vaud grew restless; Morges and other towns complained of Bernese taxation, and requests began to be made for a revival of the Estates of Vaud. In 1790, also, the Helvetic Club was founded in Paris with the express object of spreading revolutionary ideas in Switzerland and liberating the subject peoples. It circulated pamphlets inculcating the doctrines of Rousseau and inciting to revolt. Nor was Vaud unobservant of a rising in 1790 of the Lower Valais people against the harsh rule of the Upper Valais. The insurrection was put down, but not without difficulty. In 1791 the shooting clubs of Vaud began to organize themselves with insurrectionary purposes. Bern now deemed it necessary to use the strong hand, and for a time Vaud was silenced.

The year 1792 was an important and an ominous one. It witnessed a democratic revolution in Geneva, where the popular party seized power by a *coup d'état*, and conducted themselves in a manner ludicrously imitative of the revolutionaries in Paris. In 1792, also, a miniature revolution broke out in the north-west. Since the Reformation the Bishop of

Basel had resided at Porrentruy—Basel itself was Protestant and would not have him—and had ruled the surrounding territories as absolute master. Signs of unrest had appeared as early as 1790, but the bishop had paid no heed to them. In 1792, however, the war began between France and the Central European powers. By treaty with the bishop France was entitled to occupy his lands in case of war. Accordingly a revolutionary host appeared in the diocese; the people took advantage of the opportunity, drove the bishop out, and founded the Rauracian Republic—the first of the numerous mushroom republics that were created under the revolutionary impulse. Its career was very brief. In 1793 it was annexed to France with the imposing title of the Département du Mont Terrible, and in 1800 it was incorporated in the Département du Haut-Rhin.

In the autumn of 1792 the Swiss Confederation was on the point of joining its forces with Austria and the allies and declaring war upon France. The news of the massacre of the Swiss Guards at the Tuileries on 10th August was received in Switzerland with consternation and fury. The story of it was a grim and splendid echo of the nation's heroic age. It has been told so often that we need only repeat the essentials of it. The Paris mob, in fullest revolutionary frenzy, attacked the Royal Palace, and Louis XVI. quitted it, leaving his Swiss Guards behind. They had no instructions; they conceived it their duty to defend the Palace, not guessing that the king would never enter it again. There followed as tremendous a conflict between a small body of disciplined men and a multitudinous raging mob as history has ever recorded. Heroically the Swiss held their own for as long as mortal man could endure the strain; then came a hideous butchery and mutilation. Of 950 Swiss 760 perished in that nightmare struggle. "Surely few things in the history of carnage are painfuller," wrote Carlyle in a famous passage. "What ineffaceable red

streak, flickering so sad in the memory, is that of this poor column of red Swiss breaking itself in the confusion of opinions; dispersing into blackness and death! Honour to you, brave men; honourable pity, through long times!" Twenty-nine years later a memorial was raised to these victims of the Revolution, a memorial worthy of their deed and of their fate —Thorwaldsen's masterpiece, the Wounded Lion of Lucerne.

So intense was the feeling in Switzerland that declaration of war upon France seemed inevitable. But the Confederate Diet hesitated before abandoning what had become its traditional policy of neutrality, and was profoundly influenced by the circumstance that the French Ambassador was a diplomatist, whereas the Austrian Ambassador was a bully. So war was not declared, and for five years the Confederation maintained an anxious and disturbed peace. Omens of the coming convulsion were frequent enough. The Jacobins prevailed at Geneva in 1794, and their leaders had a great time seated in revolutionary tribunal in their shirt-sleeves with swords and pistols, in the true Parisian manner. They condemned several enemies to death, and invited the confirmation of the sentences by popular vote. The vote acquitted three of the victims; the Jacobins remedied this frailty of the Sovereign People by shooting the three along with the others. The outcome was that soon afterwards the Sovereign People shot the Jacobins. In 1795 Zürich had to grapple with a serious revolt among its peasantry, and in 1796 the subjects of the Abbey of St Gall rose and extorted favourable terms from their master. In 1797 the people of the Valtellina sought the protection of Bonaparte, victorious in his Italian campaign. Bonaparte complied by taking the district away from the Grisons and incorporating it in his new Cisalpine Republic.

All this time efforts were being made to secure direct French intervention in Swiss affairs. The Helvetic Club had its energies redoubled by the arrival in 1796 of one who, even at a

Photo. Ballance.

'The Lion of Lucerne'

distance, had been its ruling spirit. Frédéric-César de La Harpe was a learned Vaudois who had been for a long time in Russia as tutor to the grandchildren of the Empress Catherine II. He was a Republican by conviction, a whole-hearted Rousseauite, and an intense Vaudois patriot; his main object in seeking French aid was not so much the conversion of Switzerland as the emancipation of Vaud. He found a colleague in Peter Ochs of Basel, a fanatical revolutionary with an inordinate opinion of himself, and without La Harpe's redeeming purity of aim. When the French Directory was established by the coup of 18 Fructidor (4th September 1797) La Harpe and Ochs strove to secure armed French assistance in liberating Vaud. Meanwhile Vaud itself was trying to gain concessions from its Bernese masters. It sought, above all things, the revival of the Estates, but Bern in her pride and confidence was immovable. She did not see that the clouds were thickening. Even the arrival of the Revolution in Basel, where in December the citizens at the instigation of Ochs had bloodlessly overthrown the existing government, did not warn the Bernese patricians of their impending doom.

On 28th December the Directory announced its intention of coming to the rescue of Vaud. On the previous day, by a strange irony, the Confederate Diet had assembled, and had determined to meet any possible dangers by a renewal of the ancient unity. The Perpetual League, it was decreed, was to be confirmed by a solemn oath. The news of the Directory's decision reached Vaud on 2nd January; revolutionary committees were formed in every town, and Bern, alarmed at last, began to make inquiries and arrange for repressive measures. A last appeal was made by the moderate reformers for the revival of the Estates; it was rejected. The leaders now sent to General Ménard, who commanded the French army that had been sent into Savoy, for an assurance of his support.

The assurance was promptly given, and on 24th January Vaud was declared free under the title of the Lemanic Republic.

(*ii.*) *The Fall of Bern*

A peaceful revolution, however, was not at all in accord with the Directory's policy. The Directory spread the principles of liberty with an eye to profit. There was money to be had in Lausanne, more money to be had in Bern—the wealth of Bern, indeed, was the real object of the Directory's designs. It was probable that the Bernese would take martial measures against their revolted subjects; but Ménard wished to make quite sure of a footing in Vaud, and a misunderstanding through which two French hussars were killed by a Vaudois picket gave him his opportunity. The deed was done, he declared, by the scoundrelly oligarchs of Bern; France would resent the outrage. So on 28th January Ménard and his army appeared in Lausanne (orders had been given for the invasion *before* the death of the hussars), assured the Vaudois of French sympathy and support, and demanded a contribution of 700,000 francs.

The Lemanic Republic, having been bled, was presently extinguished. On 9th February a courier arrived from Paris bearing a mandate for the creation of a Helvetic Republic one and indivisible, on a plan drawn up by Ochs and approved by La Harpe. This involved the annihilation not only of the new Lemanic Republic but of the ancient Swiss Confederacy. The Republic acquiesced; the Confederacy did not.

Bern was now thoroughly aroused; she made hasty preparations for defence, and summoned the Confederates to her aid. They came, but in small numbers and without enthusiasm. The aristocratic arrogance of Bern had made her unpopular, and there was a feeling that she would be none the

worse for some punishment. In the city itself there were divided counsels. A moderate party recommended reform, and, in the crisis, actually prevailed. But it was too late for reform. General Brune, who had taken over the command of the French army in Vaud from Ménard, gave Bern a truce to enable her to develop her internal dissensions, and to allow time for General Schauenberg to bring up his army from Alsace. On 1st March the French forces attacked Solothurn and Freiburg—both oligarchies, and therefore in the Directory's black books; both, moreover, in possession of funds. Bern was plainly doomed, but she faced her fate like the proud city that she was.

On 5th March the historic field of Laupen saw another battle and another Bernese victory. In the dark hours of the morning French and Swiss fought fiercely hand-to-hand, and the Swiss prevailed. A second desperate fight later on resulted in a second Bernese success. But on the same day the Bernese troops, who had gone out to check Schauenberg's advance, were overpowered, after a heroic resistance, at Fraubrunnen. Old men—among them the venerable Steiger, head of the Bernese Republic and an aristocrat of aristocrats—women, and children joined in the struggle, and many of them died in it. The way to Bern was open, and the city, fearing an assault and pillage, surrendered to the French.

Matters could not have been much worse had it not surrendered. The French armies, the apostles of freedom and democracy, turned the city's environs into a hell upon earth. The fanatical but humane La Harpe shuddered at the horrors he had been the means of bringing upon the land. The taking of Bern, he wrote, had been marked by pillage, burning and rape. The people had been stripped of everything—horses, cattle, ploughs, domestic goods. Women were outraged and afterwards murdered. "And it is in the name of the French Republic that they treat thus a people loyal, honest and brave!"

But what the Directory cared about was not the conduct of its soldiery but the profits of their successes. Bern was mulcted to the tune of seventeen millions of francs, besides ten millions' worth of war materials and stores. Even the city's bears were carried off to Paris as a token of the triumph of liberty and brotherhood. Slaughter, outrage, robbery, insult —such was the Bernese people's first lesson in the blessings of democracy.

(*iii.*) *Revolt of the Forest Cantons*

Having fulfilled his duty, Brune quitted the command and left Schauenberg in charge. The Helvetic Republic one and indivisible was proclaimed; all who had taken part in the old Confederate and Cantonal governments were to be excluded from public office, and the new Constitution was not to be discussed or criticized. Most of the cantons, dismayed by the fate of Bern, yielded and accepted the new rule. Not so the Forest cantons. They had been lukewarm in their support of Bern in her emergency. But now this affair was coming home to themselves. Were they to submit without a struggle to an upstart foreign Republic that presumed to teach Germanic freemen a lesson in democracy? Were they to expose their ancient Catholic faith to the persecutions of an atheist government? Could they see the Perpetual League spurned and thrust aside? The hideous brutalities of the French added fuel to the fire. The story of Tell was remembered; never would the Forest cantons submit to tyranny without an effort, be it the tyranny of king or republic.

In April Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug and Glarus determined to oppose the new rule in arms. The leading spirit of their resistance was Aloys von Reding, one of the great gentlemen of Swiss history. A former lieutenant-colonel in the service of Spain, he was skilful and experienced in war;

handsome, courageous, the soul of honour, he was personally an ideal leader in the struggle of a proud people against oppression; judicious as well as valiant in war, he was not judicious in statesmanship—but with that we are not for the present concerned. The first purpose of the revolting cantons was the daring one—considering their scanty forces—of taking the offensive. Lucerne was captured and pillaged on 29th April, but on the same day Zug fell into the hands of the French, and the offensive policy was abandoned. Under Reding's direction an effort was made to close all the approaches to the Forest district. The French commander with his enormous numerical superiority, attacked at all points. Schauenberg, having overpowered the men of Glarus after a stern resistance, seized the Abbey of Einsiedeln, and at the same time French troops marched along the Lake of Egeri towards Morgarten and across the Pass of St Jost, a little to the north of that historic spot. On the afternoon of 2nd May, Reding, after having repulsed the French to the north of Rothenthurm, had been obliged to fall back on that place by the news of the fall of Einsiedeln. While he was retiring the French force that had been crossing the Pass of St Jost descended upon him. The Swiss without hesitation charged the newcomers; after a furious hand-to-hand conflict the French were beaten and driven back over the Pass. Reding promptly sent some of his men in the direction of Morgarten, where the French were trying to force a way. The sudden flank attack of Reding's men shattered the French columns, and Morgarten once more witnessed a Swiss victory over an invader.

Reding and his colleagues now did a very wise thing. They had beaten the French, but they knew that in a longer conflict they had no chance. Lucerne had been recovered by the enemy; Arth was threatened. The Forest leaders proposed terms of peace. The Helvetic Constitution was accepted, and Schauenburg on his part guaranteed non-interference

with the Roman Catholic religion and freedom of the district from French occupation.

(*iv.*) *The Helvetic Republic*

The Helvetic Republic was now established—as much, at any rate, as ever it could be said to be. Only the Upper Valais was mutinous, and its resistance collapsed when news came that the Forest states had made peace. The Helvetic Republic one and indivisible only lasted five years—the most miserable five years in the nation's history. It was a slavish and stupid imitation drawn up by Ochs of the French Constitution under the Directory, it totally ignored local conditions and distinctions, and it was doomed to failure from the very outset. But it is worthy of notice because it brought most of modern Switzerland together for the first time—it embraced the Valais and the Grisons—and because it introduced into Swiss polity, in a very crude and reckless manner, the principle of unity, the balancing of which with the opposite principle of cantonal self-government is the essential mechanism of the Swiss Commonwealth of to-day. The cantons were simply administrative units; the sovereignty was entirely in the hands of the central government. This consisted of a senate, to which each canton sent four members, and a Chamber of Deputies, to which each sent eight members. Senate and Chamber together chose the Directory, a body of five which exercised the supreme administrative power. The elections to the Legislature were indirect; electoral assemblies, returned by popular vote, chose senators and deputies, and judges and cantonal administrative officials as well. There were at first twenty-two cantons—the original thirteen plus Vaud (or Leman), Aargau, Thurgau, St Gall, Bellinzona and Lugano (Ticino), Rhætia, Sargans and Valais. These were reduced

after Reding's revolt by the amalgamation of the Forest states with Zug into one canton, and in 1802 the Valais—wanted by Bonaparte for military purposes—became nominally independent and figured as the Rhodanic Republic until 1810, when it was annexed to France as the Department of the Simplon.

Geneva was not even yet to become a Swiss city. In 1798 she was declared to be a French possession, and remained so, unwillingly enough, for fifteen years. Neuchâtel was Prussian until 1806, when Napoleon, at the height of his power, compelled Prussia to yield it, and presented it to one of his marshals.

The Helvetic Republic began its career under bad auspices. The government was powerless; the real authority rested with the French commissary-general Rapinat, who endeavoured successfully to live up to his name. He declared that Switzerland was a conquered country, and treated it accordingly. He cancelled any decisions of the government that did not please him. He gave the French army of occupation a free hand in plundering exactions, and sanctioned any violence it chose to employ. Even the formerly subject cantons groaned under his ruthless tyranny, and numbers of men fled the country to take service with the armies of Austria and Britain.

(*v.*) *The Massacre of Stans—Suvorov's March*

The Forest cantons, in regard to whom this conduct was treacherous as well as brutal, very nearly revolted again. Nidwalden did revolt, and the desperate and forlorn struggle of this little half-canton is one of the outstanding tragedies of Swiss history. In the August of 1798 Nidwalden, abhorring the new government and the French occupation, and dreading the overthrow of its Catholic religion, repudiated the Helvetic

Constitution and revived its old Landsgemeinde. On 29th August the signal cannon was fired in Stans, and 1500 men, young and old, gathered in the town to oppose the power of France. A week later Schauenberg brought 10,500 French troops to crush the tiny insurrection. On 9th September he attacked by land and water. His right wing strove to scale the Stanserhorn so as to command the town below; they were met in the ancient way with rolling tree-trunks and boulders, as well as by heavy and accurate fire; their dead and wounded were numbered by hundreds. His centre was driven back with heavy loss from the fort of Bieli on the Stans-Sarnen road, but was able to turn the position by scrambling along the hillside above. Stansstad was meanwhile attacked from the lake by flotillas of boats, and after a long and terrible struggle on the shore the French succeeded in landing.

From all points the enemy now converged upon the hapless town of Stans. Apparently there were divided opinions as to surrender. A white flag was shown, and some inhabitants came out to negotiate. At the same time, however, a French officer fell by a shot fired from the town. The passions of the French soldiery were released on the instant. They rushed into the town, hacked down men, women and children in their fury, stripped and burned the houses. Having desolated Stans, they ravaged the countryside, carrying their savage vengeance as far as Engelberg. This atrocious massacre left Nidwalden a wilderness, and the other cantons hastened to bring such aid as they could afford after Rapinat's depredations. The egregious Swiss Directory thanked the French army for its services and made Schauenberg a grant of 60,000 francs! Schauenberg took the money, but had the decency to apply it to the relief of Nidwalden.

In the following year Switzerland became the theatre of hostilities on a far larger scale. War was declared on France by Austria and Russia, and in March fighting began on the

Danube, in Switzerland, and in Italy. The Archduke Charles, advancing through the Grisons, defeated Masséna at Zürich on 4th June. But the Austrians as usual failed to follow up their success. The hopes of the Swiss who were opposed to the new rule were foiled when Korsakov and his Russians, who had come to the Austrians' aid, were beaten on 25th September by Masséna and Soult in the second battle of Zürich. Korsakov had been looking for the arrival of Suvorov, who was crossing the Alps from Italy with 20,000 Russians; but Suvorov came too late. Suvorov's march was one of the most extraordinary feats in Alpine warfare. He came over the St Gotthard, won a desperate conflict with the French at the Devil's Bridge, and arrived at Fluelen on 26th September. The French had by this time defeated Korsakov, and Suvorov's way was barred. He and his force painfully climbed the hills so as to descend the Muotathal to Schwyz. There, also, was a barrier. He next moved into Glarus, but could not cross the Linth at Näfels. In bitter and stormy autumn weather the determined old general led his weary, famished, shoeless host across the high Panixer Pass, and at last, on 10th October, got into touch with his allies in the Rhine Valley. It was a hard and dreadful march, especially in its last stage, when Suvorov lost a third of his men and had to abandon his artillery. There has been no exploit so remarkable in Alpine campaigning—unless it was the wonderful march of Macdonald and his Frenchmen across the Splügen Pass in the winter of the same year.

Although the friends of the old order in Switzerland were disappointed in their hope of rescue by Austria and Russia, they did not slacken in their efforts to get rid of the Helvetic Republic. The cruel repression of a rising in the Upper Valais further exasperated public opinion; Ochs and La Harpe grew more and more doctrinaire and exacting in their leadership of the Swiss Directory; and at length, late in 1799, the first of a series of *coups d'état* overthrew

the two revolutionary dictators and sent them flying from the country.

(*vi.*) *Bonaparte*

But now a new and most formidable personage was to become concerned in Swiss affairs. On 15th December 1799 the amended French Constitution was promulgated under which Napoleon Bonaparte became First Consul of the Republic and master of the destinies of France and Europe. Incidentally he also became master of the destinies of Switzerland. His dealings with that country [1] were an odd but not inexplicable mixture of statecraft and statesmanship. Bonaparte, when he achieved the Consulate, had lost any political illusions he had ever possessed. He knew that the indivisible Helvetic Republic was artificial and impossible, and that any Swiss form of government, to be stable, must have federation as its principle. But he had no intention whatever of playing into the hands of the federal party; a robust and possibly hostile Swiss Confederation was as far as possible from his ideal. He wished for a Switzerland that was stable and placid, but feeble —effectively brought under French dominance and cancelled altogether as a factor in European policy. These ends he accomplished as completely as ever he accomplished anything.

But Bonaparte's concern with the Alpine regions in the early days of the Consulship was less political than military; and we may turn aside here for a moment to glance at his crossing of the St Bernard Pass—the most prodigious of all military passages of the Swiss Alps. In the early days of 1800 France was undergoing hard pressure, and the greatest of her dangers was the Austrian threat upon Nice and Savoy. To meet this menace Bonaparte resolved to cross the Swiss Alps,

[1] They are described at length, and very illuminatingly, in Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i., chapter xvi.

mainly for the excellent reason that this was the last direction in which the enemy would expect him to come. The St Gotthard, Simplon and Great St Bernard Passes were all considered; the last-named was chosen because it presented only five leagues of really difficult going. The monks of the St Bernard hospice were familiar enough by this time with the tramp of armed men through their snowy solitudes. Both the French and their opponents had used the pass freely during the campaigns of the two preceding years: in 1799, indeed, the French had held the pass against a series of desperate Austrian attacks, and had left a garrison of 180 men for a whole year. But no crossing had ever been attempted on the scale of Bonaparte's great undertaking.

It was in the middle of May 1800 that the army of 41,000 men, with its multitude of camp-followers and a host of peasants employed for transport, began to scale the heights. The easy road now taken by travellers was not then constructed; the route to the pass was a characteristic Alpine track, narrow, perilous, and here and there exposed to avalanches. The gorge of the Valsorey was an especially awkward part of the journey. Yet in spite of all difficulties the entire army crossed the Alps in seven days, and mishaps were few and immaterial. Care in organization, zeal among the troops themselves, and the minute supervision of every detail by the great commander, accounted for the complete success of this wonderful march. Marmont's device of placing the cannon in hollowed out pine-trunks, and having them dragged over the pass first by peasants and then—when the peasants were worn out—by the troops themselves to the gay music of drum and bugle, is a famous instance of French resourcefulness, but it is only one instance of many.

Bonaparte himself followed the main body across the pass and journeyed with his army through Aosta and down the valley until his way was blocked by the fort of Bard, which

held out stubbornly against the French attack. Bonaparte could not afford to waste time over this troublesome little stronghold, so he adopted the device that is used to save the nerves of invalids in London streets. He caused the main road through the village to be covered after dark with straw and dung, and had his guns and waggons dragged silently past the fort and almost within a pistol-shot of it. The garrison took alarm and did some damage, but the trick was successful.

Here Bonaparte may be left to prosecute the brilliant campaign that culminated at Marengo. The chief importance of that campaign lay in the Treaty of Lunéville that was concluded at the end of it. By this treaty, which was signed on 9th February 1801, the Austrian emperor recognized the Helvetic Republic, but stipulated for its independence and its liberty to choose its own form of government. Switzerland was thus placed outside the arena of European conflict; she seemed also to be guaranteed against French interference, but the guarantee was not by any means to prove a lasting one.

We may now turn back to the events that had been occurring in the land of the Swiss themselves. There was assuredly no lack of occurrences. The political exuberance of those days is astounding to the modern observer. The country, after several years of civil dissension, had been scourged by foreign invasion; it had been trampled by contending hosts; it was the prey of a rapacious army of occupation. It ought to have been exhausted, at least for a time—badly in need of a breathing-space. But there was no breathing-space in Swiss politics. The supporters of Confederation were determined to restore the old system, the upholders of a united Switzerland were equally bent on maintaining the new system. Not that there was a new system of any definite kind. The overthrow of Ochs was followed not long after by another *coup d'état* which restored the unionists to power. The year 1800 was spent in Constitution-tinkering, amid fierce and sometimes

successful interruption by the federalist opposition. The Treaty of Lunéville seemed to give the Swiss more of a free hand in deciding upon a form of government, and unionist deputies went to Paris to gain the approval of the First Consul for their latest Constitution. Their real object was to secure the withdrawal of the French occupying troops—the one purpose that unionists and federalists had in common. But Napoleon was unconvinced. He allowed his disbelief in a unitary system for Switzerland to be revealed to Stapfer, the Swiss representative in Paris—a great believer in a united Swiss Republic, but for all his doctrinaire notions an able and worthy man. Stapfer was chagrined and puzzled until he discovered that what Bonaparte really wanted was the cession of the Valais to France. He wished to have absolute command of the passes across the Alps, but the Swiss were most unwilling that the French hold upon Valais, already secure enough, should be definitely legalized.

Finally, in May 1801, Bonaparte insisted upon a partial return to the Confederated system. He propounded a plan by which Switzerland was to be divided into seventeen cantons, each with considerable powers of local government, although these powers were far less than the cantons had possessed in the pre-revolutionary days. It has already been said that the First Consul was throughout a believer in federal government for the Swiss. But at this stage Switzerland had not been reduced to the state of limpness he required, and he would not have imposed this semi-federal scheme had not the federals at this time been the weaker party. The scheme was not intended as a solution but as a bone of contention.

The contention began speedily enough. The unionist majority were thoroughly dissatisfied with Bonaparte's project and straightway began to modify it. The federals, meanwhile, took heart—especially when they found that the leaders of the French army of occupation were on their side. In October,

with French connivance, they carried out *coup d'état* number three, and the gallant Aloys von Reding became the first Landammann of all Switzerland at the head of a federal majority. But the triumphant federals abused their power, as Bonaparte had expected. The men of the Forest cantons and the patricians of the cities shared the blindness that was common to nearly all reactionaries in these times. They could not distinguish the temporary from the permanent effects of the revolution, and sought the complete replacement of a system that could not be completely replaced and endure. Reding, fine patriot and brave warrior, proved a most impracticable politician. The crowning indiscretion was the proposal to deprive Vaud of its new liberties and place it again under the dominance of Bern. Bonaparte's wrath was prodigious; the French general who had backed the federal coup was recalled —a victim to the needs of statecraft—and his successor (probably not without anxiety) aided and abetted *coup d'état* number four, by which the unionists, at Easter 1802, cleared the federals out and reassumed the ascendancy at Bern. Reding was not only deprived of his office but imprisoned in Aarburg.

The first result of this change was, of course, a new Constitution on unitary lines. Bonaparte now decided that the time was ripe for yielding to Stapfer's persistent appeals that the French occupying army should be withdrawn. The Swiss, he evidently thought, could now be safely left to stew in their own juice, and the uncanny foresight that he showed through all these transactions was justified as usual. As soon as the troops had gone, the unionist majority, anxious to live up to its democratic principles and to make its position finally secure, sought to confirm the new Constitution by popular vote. It took a *plébiscite*—the first appearance in Swiss history of the Referendum that is now the most conspicuous feature of the country's polity. But the result was not at all what the unionists had anticipated. They were defeated by

close upon 20,000; 72,453 votes were cast in favour of the new Constitution and 92,423 against. But unionist resources were not exhausted. Attention was called to the circumstance that 167,172 citizens had not voted at all. These must be taken as acquiescing in the new order. The unionist cause was declared to have triumphed.

This was altogether too much for the patience of the federals. They rushed to arms—those of them, that is, who had any; the rest rushed to any hitting implement that they could pick up. So began, in September 1802, what was significantly known as the " war of staves." It was less a war than a sort of peripatetic riot. The two parties were about equally matched in munitions of war, or the lack of them; but the federals surpassed their opponents in numbers and in wrath, and simply swept the country. They beat the unionists at the foot of Pilatus and outside Zürich, cleared them out of Bern, and sent them at a scrambling run across country to Lausanne. The unionist leaders were proposing to cross Lake Leman and seek refuge in Savoy, when General Rapp appeared in the nick of time with an intimation that these proceedings must stop.

The successful federals were pulled up with a jerk, and were the less inclined to move on when they learnt that Ney, with a large army, was on the frontier. Bonaparte was quite prepared for all that had happened. While seemingly uninterested—he had contented himself with pulling Stapfer's leg by asking him how the new Constitution was getting on—he had quietly arranged an additional Swiss *coup d'état* on his own account. The first step was the sending of Ney and his troops across the frontier, in cool disregard of the Treaty of Lunéville. The dismayed federals appealed to foreign Powers against this violation of Swiss territory. But Austria just then had other fish to fry; Prussia was the compliant tool of the First Consul; Russia was indifferent. The British Government alone took

up Switzerland's cause. Never averse to harassing Bonaparte, it sent an agent to Zürich and considered ways and means of creating trouble for the French in other quarters of the globe. But when the agent arrived he found Ney's army in complete and overwhelming occupation. The federals had realized that the game was up, and the agent returned from an unprofitable errand.

(*vii.*) *The Act of Mediation*

Switzerland was now sufficiently subjugated for Bonaparte's purpose, and he decided that the time had come to turn from intrigue to statesmanship. He summoned deputies from all Switzerland to meet him in Paris. Of the sixty-three deputies only fifteen were federals—a proportion that raised hopes in the unionists which were destined to be disappointed. Reding and some other inflexible spirits refused to go, and were promptly clapped into gaol. On 12th December the deputies and a group of French commissioners assembled at St Cloud, and heard for the first time what the master of the situation really thought about Swiss affairs. Bonaparte told them bluntly that Swiss unity was a mere dream of metaphysicians; the cantonal system was essential to a country constituted as Switzerland was, and it was on the basis of this system that the new framework of government must be constructed. On two points, however, he absolutely insisted. One was that Vaud and Ticino must be on a complete equality with the German-speaking cantons; the other was that there must be no interference by other foreign Powers, above all no interference by England.

For several weeks after this Bonaparte, although just then his hands happened to be even more full than usual, devoted a remarkable amount of time to his scheme of the new Swiss Constitution. None of his political acts ever interested him so much; it seems to have been a kind of hobby with him.

To ensure that Switzerland should be in entire and placid dependence upon France, and should, under that condition, have the form of government best suited to her peculiar character, was an exercise in rule that the First Consul, to judge by contemporary accounts, heartily enjoyed.

On 29th January 1803 Bonaparte entered into the details of his project with a selected group of the deputies. He was in his most genial mood; except for one fiery outburst against the detested English, his whole discourse was mild and sagacious. He told his hearers that he spoke as a Corsican and a mountaineer, who knew and loved the clan system. Switzerland, he pointed out, was composed of three nationalities speaking different tongues, and under such conditions federalism was essential. These local divisions would not hamper the country's progress, for she did not need power and glory, she needed political tranquillity and obscurity. Let the Forest cantons, therefore, retain their ancient democratic assemblies; let the towns retain their old institutions, but reformed and on a wider basis; and let the formerly subject districts be admitted as cantons on an equal footing with the rest.

This ingenious compromise between the old privileges and the new strivings after equality was put into practice by the Act of Mediation, promulgated on 19th February 1803. It was a successful compromise, in that nobody was quite satisfied by it, and yet nobody was so dissatisfied by it as to raise serious trouble. The federals knew that their principle had triumphed and accepted the reforms with a tolerably good grace. The unionists were disappointed that a clean sweep had not been made of the institutions they condemned, but admitted that large concessions had been made to their views. The Constitution, indeed, although federal in essence, gave to the country a unity, as well as a symmetry, that it had never possessed before. The number of cantons was fixed at nineteen; the new six were Vaud, Ticino, Thurgau, Aargau,

St Gall and Grisons. All the nineteen were given extensive powers of self-government, and although the former barriers between patrician and plebeian were substantially lowered, they were not swept away. The six larger cantons were to send two members each, and the thirteen smaller cantons one member each, to the Federal Diet, which was to be held by turns lasting a year in Freiburg, Bern, Solothurn, Basel, Zürich and Lucerne. The chief magistrate of the canton that entertained the Diet was to be Federal Landammann for the year. As Freiburg was first on the list the first Landammann was a friend and favourite of Bonaparte—Louis d'Affry of Freiburg, who had served France in the past, and who was one of the few survivors of the massacre of the Swiss Guards in 1792.

So much was done by Bonaparte on Switzerland's behalf. He did not omit to do as much on behalf of France. The Swiss were guaranteed their independence, but as they were not allowed an army to maintain it—the military force permitted to them was only sufficient for preserving internal order—the guarantee amounted to nothing. The Swiss, moreover, had to furnish a contingent of 16,000 men for the army of France —a number greater than they were suffered to raise in their own defence. "The First Consul's aim," said Stapfer, "was to annul Switzerland politically, but to assure to the Swiss the greatest possible domestic happiness." It was an aim that did not miss its mark. The country's spirit of independence was far from crushed, and the hope of freedom was not extinguished under the Napoleonic pressure. There were several tokens of restiveness under the yoke. Resentment was shown when in 1806 the Emperor Napoleon made a present of Neuchâtel to General Berthier; and when, four years later, Ticino was joined to Italy, and Valais, in fulfilment of a long-cherished wish of the autocrat, became a French Department under the name of Simplon—the great military road over the

Simplon Pass had been made in 1802—the anger of the Swiss became menacing. Reding and other unconquerable spirits urged the Federal Diet to resist in arms. Napoleon's reply was a threat to march 50,000 men into Switzerland and annex the country to France. The Diet did not resist. Another of Napoleon's interferences was with the importation of English goods into Switzerland, to the serious damage of the country's growing commerce.

The ten years that followed the Act of Mediation, therefore, were not wholly tranquil. But, compared with the rest of mid-Europe, Switzerland was in these years a haven of repose. The tide of war rolled thunderously around her borders, but within the land itself (except for a brief revolt of the peasantry near Zürich in 1804 against the rents and tithes exacted by the city) there was unbroken peace. The opportunities for internal development thus given were not wasted. During the troublous days of the Helvetic Republic English cotton-spinning machinery was introduced by a Minister of State named Rengger. The new industry, which had St Gall, Zürich and Winterthur for its headquarters, progressed rapidly in the quiet times that followed. The agricultural capacities of the land were extensively developed; the chief exploit in this direction was that of Escher—"Escher von der Linth" as the Diet decreed that he should be called—who drained and made productive an enormous area of swamp around the River Linth between the Walèn Lake and the Lake of Zürich.

It was in these years, also, that Switzerland laid the basis of her system of national education. The pioneer was our friend the excellent Stapfer, who, even during his stressful experiences with the Directory and the First Consul was trying to carry out a scheme that suggests the "educational ladder" of which so much is heard in modern England. At the foundation of this scheme was elementary education for all; at the

summit of it was a Swiss national university. In Stapfer's own day very considerable progress was made with primary education. But the national university, owing to sectional feeling, is still an unrealized ideal. Switzerland's most notable contribution to education, at this or at any time, was the work of the gentle Pestalozzi, who early in the nineteenth century was established in his famous school at Yverdon.

(*viii.*) *The Pact of* 1815

Napoleon's last despotic act in regard to Switzerland was the severance from it in 1811 of Ticino, which was alleged to be a depôt of contraband English goods. After that the emperor had no time to concern himself with Swiss affairs. The stupendous failure of the Russian invasion marked the beginning of the end. The victory of the allies at Leipzig in October 1813 was thought to denote that the end was very near. The Swiss Diet recognized that everything had changed —that the land was released from Napoleon's clutches. Its first thought was to guard the country against invasion. In November it declared Switzerland to be neutral. But Prince Metternich, the Austrian arch-diplomatist, had no intention of allowing advantages to escape him in this way. He had, as an immediate object, the strategic employment of Swiss territory; as ultimate object, the destruction of French influence in Switzerland and its replacement by Austrian influence. Hence he intrigued with the Swiss reactionaries, who now hoped to restore ante-revolutionary conditions; having assured himself of their good-will, he simply ignored the Swiss declaration of neutrality. At the end of December the Austrian and Prussian armies entered Switzerland and marched across the country towards France. Switzerland did not try to stop them, and could not have stopped them had it tried. These invaders,

Photo. Boissonnas

Church and Street of Champèry, Valais

in contrast with the French revolutionary armies, behaved admirably. They brought an epidemic of typhus into the country, but otherwise nobody was the worse for their passage.

An immediate effect of this march was that Neuchâtel, Geneva, the Valais and Ticino all cast off the French yoke that had been imposed upon them. Another effect was to raise to the highest point the hopes of the Swiss reactionaries. The patricians of Bern, with Metternich's connivance, sought to reassert the full measure of their former power. On 23rd December the Grand Council of Bern assembled, abrogated the Act of Mediation, and proclaimed the revival of the old oligar chical government. Vaud and the Bernese Aargau were informed that their liberties had ceased, and were requested to submit. This impossible demand was repudiated by both, and Bern and Metternich found a formidable opponent in the Russian emperor Alexander. This potentate had been a pupil of La Harpe, who had exercised a remarkable influence over his career. La Harpe, seeing his beloved Vaud in danger, renewed his influence; Bern and the emperor came into collision—the curious spectacle was seen of the most absolute monarch in the world protecting a country's free institutions against the attacks of a Republic. Metternich was too wary to pit himself against this mighty antagonist, and abstained from supporting Bern's exorbitant demands. With these troubles afoot, and other troubles looming in front, the Federal Diet assembled at Zürich on 23rd December. One thing was clear; the Act of Mediation could no longer be upheld. On 29th December it was formally abrogated; an agreement was arrived at to confer as to a new Constitution—the formerly subject lands to take part in the conference. This was the end of the Napoleonic era in Switzerland.

There was now manifested a new and wide divergence in Confederate politics. For nearly three hundred years religion

had been the main cause of quarrel. Now the cantons disputed over secular issues of government. Bern, with her reassertion of the old oligarchy and her demand for the renewed subjection of the lands formerly under her control, was at one extreme; the new cantons, dreading the loss of their liberties, were at the other. None of the other states went to the length of Bern. But aristocratic Freiburg and Solothurn were in strong sympathy with her; and the Forest states, Lucerne, and Zug were intent upon confining the restored Confederation to the thirteen original cantons. So bitter was the dispute that for a time these eight met in separate Diet from the other ten. (The Grisons, where the Leagues had been revived, stood aloof.) At length Zürich, acting as mediator, got all the Confederates together. It took the combined efforts of Austria, Russia and Prussia to induce the stiff-necked Bernese to join in the conference. The patricians were partly forced into acknowledging the existence of the new cantons, partly bribed by the offer of the possession of Bienne, Porrentruy and other lands.

After prolonged debate the representatives of the nineteen states succeeded in drawing up an agreement by which, subject to certain limitations, each canton controlled its own internal affairs, while the Diet was restricted to a few common interests and to foreign policy. Geneva, the Valais and Neuchâtel were formally and finally admitted into the Confederacy, which thus reached its full number of twenty-two cantons. Neuchâtel was in the anomalous position of being at once a Swiss canton and a principality of the King of Prussia, a state of things that lasted until 1857.

On 3rd October 1814 the Congress of Vienna assembled to rearrange the affairs of Europe after their disorganization by Napoleon. It is not necessary here to consider in any detail the diplomatic squabbles, tempered by lavish festivities, in which this memorable Congress engaged. The main point is that

Swiss representatives took an active part in the negotiations, which had results of the utmost importance to the country. In the first place, the eight Powers concerned—Austria, Spain, France, Britain, Russia, Prussia, Portugal and Sweden—recognized the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, which received formal guarantees on 20th November 1815. The existence of the twenty-two cantons was acknowledged and their territories rounded off. Geneva was granted the lands that now form her canton; she sought to gain Chablais and Faucigny, but these were neutralized like Switzerland itself and left in possession of the Savoy family, now the royal house of Sardinia. The Valtellina and other valleys on the Italian side of the Alps were lost to the Grisons Leagues, which did not try particularly hard to keep them; the Protestants feared a Catholic majority in the canton more than they coveted Italian land. On the northern side Mühlhausen, the Confederation's old ally, became definitely French. It is now, of course, German.

The Vienna Congress was rudely disturbed in the spring of 1815 by the news of Napoleon's return from Elba. In the war that followed Switzerland took part with the allies—her last campaign against the foreigner. The Swiss troops in French service, who had sworn allegiance to Louis XVIII., almost unanimously refused to abandon their oath at Napoleon's bidding, and marched back to their native land. Fighting of an irregular sort occurred on the Swiss border; it went on, indeed, for two months after Napoleon's fall. But Waterloo relieved the anxieties of Switzerland and Europe, and on 7th August 1815 representatives of all the cantons—except change-hating Nidwalden, which revolted and had to be chastised with the loss of Engelberg—assembled at Zürich and solemnly confirmed the Confederate agreement arrived at in the previous year. On account of this ceremonial the agreement came to be known as the Pact of 1815.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Monument to F.-C. de La Harpe at Rolle, his birthplace.

Porrentruy.

Lion of Lucerne (memorial of the Tuileries massacre).

Battlefields of Laupen and Fraubrunnen.

Memorial at Bern to Steiger and the Bernese who fell in the battles of 1798.

Battlefield of Rothenthurm.

Nidwalden—Stans (memorial in the church of the massacre), Stansstad, Stanserhorn, Bieli.

Battlefields of Zürich.

Devil's Bridge (St Gotthard).

Grimsel Pass (scene of a combat between French and Austrians in 1799).

Panixer Pass.

Splügen Pass.

Great St Bernard Pass.

Simplon Pass (Napoleon's road).

Château at Yverdon, seat of Pestalozzi's school, and monument to Pestalozzi.

Linth-Escher Platz and Linth-Escher School at Zürich.

National Monument at Geneva, commemorating the city's union with the Confederation.

Inscription in memory of Schiller on the Mytenstein, Lake of Uri.

CHAPTER XI

TOWARDS FEDERALISM

(*i.*) *The Reaction*

At the end of the Napoleonic era Switzerland had adopted a new form but had returned to her old system. Her thirteen cantons had become twenty-two; their territory was explicitly determined, and she was assured against foreign attack. But the Confederation was as loose in structure as it had been before the revolutionary wars; the only real difference was in uniformity of relationship—the old complex alliances had been superseded by a simpler bond. The Diet, which met by turns at Zürich, Bern and Lucerne—each of which was termed *Vorort*, or head canton, during its two years of official dignity —became once more little better than a conference of separate states. Each canton had one vote in the assembly, which appointed ambassadors, regulated foreign affairs, and arranged for the military defence of the Confederacy. There was a small permanent staff consisting of a Chancellor, a State Secretary, a War Secretary and a Keeper of the Records. The Confederate Budget averaged something under £4000 a year.

With sectionalism so completely in the ascendant as it was in Switzerland during this period, the cantonal governments were necessarily of more importance than the central government, and it was cantonal reform that paved the way for the coming Federalism. By the Pact of 1815 each

canton was left to its own devices in the matter of rule; the liberal measures abolishing privileges of birth and class, and ensuring freedom of religious belief, of the Press, and of political opinion, established under the Helvetic Republic and maintained by the Act of Mediation, ceased to be Confederate provisions—each canton could maintain them or not as it chose. There were general stipulations that the holding by any canton of subject lands was inconsistent with Swiss polity, and that political rights should not be the privilege of any class; the latter was honoured by some cantons more in the breach than the observance. The Helvetic Republic, moreover, had done good service by abolishing internal tariffs; this also was revoked in 1815, and each canton set up customs-houses against its neighbours.

The various states, thus given their option as to government, followed very much the courses that might have been expected. Bern was naturally oligarchical; so were Freiburg, Solothurn and Lucerne. Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen were also oligarchical, but in a different way. They were ruled by their merchant princes, inheritors of the old guild system, and rights of citizenship were rigorously denied to the lower classes and to the peasantry. A third group was formed by the Forest states with Zug, Glarus and Appenzell; these upheld the old restricted democracies of freeholders. The emancipated states—Vaud, Aargau, Thurgau, St Gall and Ticino—preserved, as might be expected, the free institutions that they had enjoyed under the Act of Mediation. The Grisons Leagues were revived, as were the *dizains* of the Valais. Neuchâtel was a monarchical state under the Hohenzollerns; Geneva, true to her traditions, was a democratic Republic. It should be added that in no case was the cantonal government inefficient. It was a time of reaction in politics, and retrogressive influences made themselves felt as time went on even in the more liberal cantons. But the administration of all alike was sound,

prudent and economical, and there was little if any corruption

It would be a mistake to suppose that there was an entire absence of co-operation among the cantons. They arrived at concordats among each other on various points, and the negotiations were usually conducted through the Confederate Diet. Some of the cantons joined in agreements as to currency, and mixed marriages, police relationships and bankruptcies, were among other matters in which there were tendencies to common action. There was much road-making at this time, in which the Confederate Diet acted in concert with the cantonal authorities. The great St Gotthard road was made between 1820 and 1830; ere its completion roads had been driven across the Splügen and St Bernardin Passes, and the internal communications of the country were so much improved that it ceased to be necessary for any member of the Diet to tramp on foot from his canton to the assembly. It was at this time, too, that steamers made their first appearance on the lakes. Cantonal agreements led to the bettering of the postal service, which had hitherto been in a very irregular condition. In several cantons the post had been a perquisite of certain families; in one, Glarus, there had been a Catholic post and a Protestant post! By means of concordats this state of things was largely abolished and the service conducted with some uniformity of method and cost.

The seeking by young Swiss of careers in foreign armies was not interrupted until 1830. In 1816 30,000 Swiss were thus employed—12,000 of them in the service of France, and 10,000 in that of Holland. French public opinion was against the enrolment of Swiss, and after the Revolution of 1830, when the Swiss Guard fought and died for Charles X. as an earlier Swiss Guard had done for Louis XVI., the practice was ended. Holland had dismissed her Swiss troops two years earlier. The enlistment of Swiss in foreign service was finally forbidden

in 1874. The abolition of the mercenary system has given Switzerland the advantage of retaining her manhood for her own defence, and has saved her from a heavy drain upon her human resources.

The religious divisions of the country, somewhat subdued during the revolutionary era, were again in evidence under the Pact of 1815. Between 1815 and 1830 they were not so serious as they afterwards became, but they existed and led to occasional friction. The Pact had confirmed the monasteries in their ancient rights and possessions—a provision that was later on to give rise to acute difficulties. There was also considerable trouble over the appearance in Switzerland of the dreaded Jesuits. In French-speaking Switzerland there arose a vigorous evangelical movement, in the promotion of which two Scotsmen—Henry Drummond and Robert Haldane (a great-uncle of Lord Chancellor Haldane)—took a conspicuous part. There was a disposition on the part of the authorities to persecute the evangelicals; it was resisted, among others, by the eminent Vaudois philosopher, Alexander Vinet, and by La Harpe, still in his old age an enthusiast for civil and religious liberty. The movement, when it spread to German-speaking Switzerland, took a mystical and fanatical turn. It led to strange excesses—strangest of all the case of a woman named Margaret Peter, of Wildenspuch in Schaffhausen, who actually persuaded some men to kill her and her sister that their blood might redeem mankind. The cause of religious freedom, it need hardly be said, gained nothing by this singular tragedy, which stiffened the backs of those opposed to evangelism.

(*ii.*) *The Cantonal Revolutions*

During these years of political reaction the Liberal party —those who favoured closer Swiss unity—were ineffective

but not inactive. The obliterating policy of the Helvetic Republic had been abandoned by the leaders of the new Liberal movement, who had come to recognize that the wiping out of the cantons, however desirable, was impossible. Their aim was to form a central government with greater ascendancy and wider powers, and to encourage national as distinct from purely cantonal patriotism. In this latter aim they were not unsuccessful; the Confederacy was stirred to a consciousness of its renowned past, and the Lion of Lucerne, the memorial at Basel to the heroes of St Jacques on the Birse, and the restored monument on the battlefield of Morat—the original one had been overthrown by the French revolutionary army on its way to Bern—were all tokens given at this time of a revival of national as distinct from sectional spirit.

Towards the federal ideal, however, progress was very slow. The pioneer organization on its behalf was the Helvetic Society, a body founded as far back as 1760. In earlier years it was chiefly devoted to the philosophic study of politics, and a closer Swiss unity had been among the pious aspirations of its youth. After 1815, however, it became an actively propagandist body, the headquarters of the country's Liberalism. But it was obvious that the larger federal aim could not be attained without sweeping changes in cantonal government. The cantons meant a great deal more to the Swiss people between 1815 and 1830 than the Confederacy did. There was dissatisfaction in all the cantons with the local administration; and this dissatisfaction the Liberals, each group of them in its own canton, strove to bring to a head.

The French Revolution of 1830 gave a violent and decisive impetus to the cantonal reform movement. But this movement was not, as has often been supposed, a mere echo of the French outbreak. The reform began, indeed, some time before the overthrow of the Bourbons; and it is significant that the chief agitations occurred in the states that from the Liberal

point of view were most advanced. In Vaud, Ticino and the other emancipated cantons there had been a marked falling away from the substance if not from the form of freedom. Administration tended to concentrate in a few hands, and popular control was steadily diminished. In Vaud we find La Harpe agitating for a constitutional revision as early as 1826, and throughout the next four years there was a vigorous and continuous demand for reform. But in actual achievement Vaud was beaten by Ticino, the emancipated state on the Italian side of the Alps, where the government had fallen into the hands of a small official oligarchy. Peaceful but determined pressure upon the oligarchs began in 1829; it had almost the entire weight of the population behind it, and on 4th July 1830 a new constitution was established which forms the basis of Ticino's government to this day—although so many changes have occurred in this perturbed canton that the original instrument is hardly recognizable. Ticino thus freed herself altogether independently of the events in France.

In other cantons partial changes were forced upon the ruling bodies. An agitation among the rural subjects of Lucerne led to the making of several concessions at the end of 1829. In Appenzell there was a violent rising in 1827; the Diet had to intervene on the government's behalf, and as a result a commission was appointed and a new constitution, recognizing some popular rights, was decreed in 1829 and revised in some important respects three years afterwards.

The news of the Paris Revolution of July, exuberantly welcomed by the Swiss Liberals, gave the signal for a general demand for cantonal democracy. Little revolutions occurred in most parts of the country, and in the majority of cases were carried out quite peacefully. Aargau and Thurgau achieved democracy early in 1831. So did St Gall, whose Constitution of 1831 was distinguished by the appearance of the Referendum. The country people of Zürich canton agitated for reforms, and

the citizen oligarchy was obliged to concede them. The partial concessions made in Lucerne were followed perforce by far more sweeping concessions. The reform agitation in Vaud gained from the events in France an incentive that led it to success. In Freiburg and Solothurn the patricians had to yield, under menace but without bloodshed, to popular demands. In Schaffhausen, on the other hand, there was a little fighting before the end was gained.

And what of Bern, that mighty stronghold of oligarchic republicanism? Bern went the way of the others. It can hardly be said that the great oligarchy fell; rather did it step down, with a stately gesture of farewell, from the high place it had so long adorned. After the Revolution in France there was a strong demand, especially in the Oberland and other outlying parts of Bernese territory, for constitutional revision. The patricians rejected the demand and tried to remove discontent by economic reforms. But the popular movement was most determined, and might have been threatening to the peace of the state had it not been for the restraint of the revisionist leaders. The patrician leaders, on their part, perceived clearly that only by sacrificing themselves could they save their country. On 13th January 1831 the Great Council of Bern announced that a constituent assembly would be convoked, and that when new authorities had been created the power of rule would be handed over to them. The Council invited the people to support the new government "for the sake of order, peace and the enforcement of the law, without which no government can exist or contrive the welfare of the state. We put our trust in God," were the last words of Leurs Excellences les Messieurs de Berne; "let us hope that He will guard and bless our dear country."

Thus ended the great oligarchy of Bern, never more majestic than in this hour of its surrender. Bern straightway became a democratic canton, with complete civil and religious liberty,

and separation of the legislative from the judicial powers—a point upon which the Swiss reformers at this time wisely laid the utmost stress. It is significant that of the 240 members of the new Council, chosen by popular vote, 145 were patricians. The newly-modelled state was not without its troubles. Certain young aristocrats would not acquiesce in the changed system, and engaged in a conspiracy that might, but for its timely discovery, have had serious effects. But there was no looking backward, and henceforth the city of Leurs Excellences was to be a stronghold of Swiss democracy.

The progress of popular government in the cantons was not wholly peaceful. In three cases little wars occurred that called for the intervention of the Confederate Diet—which thus, it may be noted, was enabled to make some advance towards the future Swiss unity. Neuchâtel, at once a Prussian Principality and a Swiss Confederate State, was bound to experience trouble at revolutionary times. Three parties strove within its border—the Royalists, who upheld the King of Prussia, the Liberals and the Republicans. The Liberals secured several reforms and were therewith content; but the Republicans were bent upon the overthrow of Prussian rule, and raised two insurrections, which were suppressed with the aid of troops sent by the Confederate Diet. The Royalists were so elated with their success that they sought to separate Neuchâtel from the Confederacy altogether. But King Frederick William of Prussia did not lend his countenance to these exuberant upholders of his cause, and the dual arrangement survived for a while longer.

Basel, the history of which as a Swiss canton had been remarkably placid, had at this time more than its share of revolutionary perplexities. At Basel, as at Zürich, the whole power was vested in the hands of a civic and mercantile oligarchy; the people in the well-populated country districts within the canton had no political rights. In January 1831

they demanded a constitutional revision and took up arms to enforce their will. For over eighteen months the canton was in a state of extreme disturbance. The Diet intervened several times, not always with wisdom. Ultimately it ended a dispute that threatened to be interminable by insisting upon the concession of the country people's request that Basel should be divided into an urban half-canton and a rural half-canton—*Basel Stadt* and *Basel Land*. Basel thus became, in company with Unterwalden and Appenzell, one of the divided cantons of Switzerland.

The third little war was in Schwyz, where the new residents and the inhabitants of the outlying districts complained of their exclusion from political rights by the descendants of the ancient freemen. The democracies of the Forest cantons were so exclusive as to be virtually oligarchies, and Schwyz differed from the others in having a Uitlander population, as it may be termed, numerous enough to give trouble. Confederate intervention secured large concessions in 1833; but in the following year dissensions were renewed and the freemen gained the upper hand. The conservative element finally asserted itself in a furious struggle that broke out at the Landsgemeinde of 1838, and Schwyz, like the other cantons, remained unreformed.

The popular movement begun in 1830 caused a division into cantonal groups almost as sharp as that which had been caused by religious differences. In March 1832 the leading democratic cantons—Zürich, Lucerne, Bern, Solothurn, St Gall, Aargau and Thurgau—formed a League, called the League of Seven, for the mutual guaranteeing of their Constitutions and the furthering of a revision of the Pact of 1815. To this the Forest cantons, Zug, Basel City and Neuchâtel, responded with the League of Sarnen, signed in November 1832; the object of this League was to oppose all revision of the Pact and all interference with cantonal sovereignty.

A premature effort to secure Federation was made in 1833.

The scheme was chiefly the work of Professor Rossi, an Italian savant naturalized in Geneva, and was taken up by the Swiss Liberals with some enthusiasm. Its purpose was the establishment of a new Federal Pact which would differ from the Pact of 1815 in guaranteeing the rights of the peoples of the cantons as well as of their governments, and establishing the power of the inhabitants of each canton to revise their constitution according to proper legal form. It was also proposed that currency, the posts, communications (to some extent) and certain judicial affairs should be under the control of the Federal Diet. The time was not ripe for such a project; the League of Sarnen resisted it with vigour, some of the progressive cantons were unfavourable, and ultimately it fell to the ground. But it helped to form opinion.

The fourteen years that followed 1833 show a varied but not very exhilarating record of conflicts between the Liberal and Conservative elements, in which first one side had the advantage and then the other. The issue was complicated by the revival of the old feuds between Catholics and Protestants. Catholicism and Conservatism were not necessarily identical; Ticino, for example, was Catholic, but generally Liberal, and so was Lucerne. Zürich, on the other hand, reverted to Conservatism in 1839, owing to the indignation caused by the appointment of the great theologian, David Strauss, abhorred as a free-thinker on account of his *Life of Jesus*, to a professorship at the university.

There was no sign of reforming tendencies in the Forest cantons. We have already observed the triumph of Conservatism in Schwyz. Schwyz's neighbours were similarly adamant in their attitude towards reform, and this attitude was stiffened by their determined and aggressive Catholicism. The Ultramontane movement, the great nineteenth-century attempt of the papacy at predominance, found keen support in the Forest cantons, which became through its influence a

sort of *enclave* within the Confederation—out of sympathy with its progress and tending to alliance with foreign Catholic Powers. The great duel of the time between Catholicism and Liberalism had its chief Swiss echo in the Articles of Baden. These were an attempt, drawn up in 1834 with the support of the Liberal Catholics, to adjust the relations of the Catholic Church with the State. But the papacy was then in its most truculent mood, and an effective all-round compromise was impossible.

One of the most troubled cantons during these years was the Valais. Almost the whole population was Catholic, but the political division was nevertheless very marked indeed. For centuries before the revolutionary era the people of the Lower Valais had been held in harsh subjection by the people of the Upper Valais. The Revolution had brought liberty and equality, if not fraternity; and after the country's experiences as a nominally independent Republic and as a French canton, the old government of the *dizains* was revived in 1815, the Lower Valais being conceded an inadequate share in the representative system. The Upper Valais was thus Catholic and Conservative, eager for a complete recovery of its former ascendancy; the Lower Valais was Catholic but Liberal, intent upon adhering to its rights gained during the revolutionary era and upon acquiring new ones. Between 1839 and 1844 the canton was in a state of constant disturbance. In 1839 it was virtually split into two, and the Confederate Diet toyed with the notion of forming it into half-cantons, like Basel. But after a short struggle in arms the Valais was reunited under Liberal auspices. In 1843 there was further dissension, and in the following year the men of the Upper Valais rose *en masse*, overcame all opposition after some sharp fighting, and established a rigidly Conservative rule.

We may here turn aside briefly from the confused events that were tending towards a crash and a reconstruction to

glance at Switzerland's foreign affairs. These were not altogether harmonious. Almost throughout the country's history it had given a hearty and honourable welcome to religious or political refugees. During the quarter of a century that followed Napoleon's downfall, fugitives from all parts of Europe sought the shelter that Switzerland afforded, and the country's readiness to receive them was looked at askance by the governments by whom the fugitives were wanted. It is only just to say that certain refugees used Switzerland's protection to conspire against the lands from which they had fled. The Polish exiles were specially troublesome people. The hard fate of their Fatherland brought them marked sympathy from the Swiss, but the Poles damaged their welcome by marching about the country in armed bands, and even attempting an invasion of Savoy. The Swiss ultimately had them packed off to England, that sister-land in the matter of hospitality. The plots of French and German agitators, fostered by the support of the Swiss ultra-Radicals, led to friction that might have become dangerous; but only once, in all these broils, was Switzerland in actual anticipation of war.

This was over the case of Louis Bonaparte, afterwards Napoleon III. In his young days he held fervent and practical revolutionary sympathies, and King Louis Philippe of France, who, on reaching the throne, lapsed into ways of reaction, had him sent across to the United States in 1836. Louis, however, returned to Europe, became naturalized in Thurgau, and took service in the Swiss Army. Louis Philippe, regarding Louis Bonaparte—not without reason—as a dangerous man, requested that he should be expelled from Switzerland. The Government of Thurgau refused to expel him, and in 1838 the French King threatened to take drastic steps. It was a little ungracious of Louis-Philippe, who had himself in his youth experienced the boon of asylum in Switzerland, and had, in fact, pursued the calling of a schoolmaster in the Grisons. Thurgau

Photo. Ballance.

A Bernese Oberland Peasant Dwelling (Wetterhorn in background)

was very firm even when France took steps towards invasion; Aargau, Bern, Vaud and Geneva began to make military preparations. Some of the other cantons were undecided, but the Confederate Diet clinched matters by issuing a call to arms in the country's defence. But Louis Bonaparte was not prepared to bring war upon the land that had sheltered him. In October 1838 he quitted Switzerland for England, and with his departure the crisis was brought to an end.

(*iii.*) *The Aargau Monasteries*

We may now return to the country's internal affairs. Hitherto we have noted events and tendencies of a confused kind, which hinted rather than denoted that Switzerland was heading towards a convulsion. We now come to an event that had a direct and causative bearing on the coming struggle —the suppression of the monasteries in Aargau. In this canton the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics by 75,000 to 67,000, but, in accordance with the arrangement known as the confessional parity, the Catholics returned as many deputies as the Protestants to the Cantonal Council. In 1840 it was proposed to abolish this arrangement and to have deputies elected simply on a numerical basis. After a furious controversy this project was submitted to popular vote and carried. The result was a Catholic rising, undoubtedly fomented by the monks; it was suppressed with the aid of a contingent from Bern, and in January 1841 the Cantonal Council—from which the Catholic deputies deliberately stayed away—resolved to suppress the religious houses. The decree was carried out immediately and with considerable brutality.

The first effect of this procedure was the conversion of Lucerne, hitherto Liberal although Catholic, to ultra-Conservatism. But the act of the Aargau Council raised national

as well as cantonal issues. By the Pact of 1815 the monasteries were guaranteed in their rights and possessions, and Aargau, as Austria promptly informed the Confederate Diet, had broken the guarantee. Aargau defended its action with spirit, contending that no canton could be bound to endure the existence of bodies that conspired against the public weal. But the Diet, after long debate and inquiry, decided that the Pact had been broken and that the religious houses must be re-established. Aargau offered to restore three of the four convents that had been suppressed along with the monasteries. The Diet, by a smaller majority, declared that this was insufficient. Aargau offered to restore the fourth convent also. By this time Protestant and Liberal public opinion had been roused; the cry ran through the cities that Protestantism was in danger; and the majority of the Diet, responsive to the popular attitude, accepted Aargau's last proposal, thus consenting to the extinction of the male religious houses.

The instant effect of this decision was to throw the Catholic-Conservative cantons into concerted opposition to the rest. The dispute had been a long one, and it was not until August 1843 that the Diet had come to its final decision. In September 1843 representatives of the Forest cantons, Zug, Lucerne and Freiburg, met and formed the *Sonderbund*, or Separate League, pledged to secure the restoration of the religious houses and the protection of Catholics in the mixed cantons. The League afterwards received the adhesion of the Valais, where Conservatism, as we have already seen, was victorious in 1844.

(*iv.*) *War of the Sonderbund*

Switzerland was once again definitely divided, and the political and religious lines of demarcation were largely but not

entirely identical. The Catholic Conservative cantons, under the spell of Ultramontanism and greatly influenced by the Jesuits, were more reactionary than ever; Lucerne, with the exuberance of the convert, was specially ferocious in its penalties and proscriptions. The Liberal cantons, on the other hand, tended to become more Liberal. Zürich overthrew the Conservative ascendancy in 1845, and Bern, Vaud, Geneva and St Gall each of them further democratized its institutions. In the incessant and inevitable frictions that occurred between the two hostile wings of the Confederacy the Diet did its best to intervene; but it was hopelessly hampered by the Pact of 1815, which made it almost powerless to resist any exercise of cantonal sovereignty. The efforts that had been made so persistently to stir up national as opposed to purely cantonal patriotism were now achieving success. Throughout Liberal Switzerland it was felt that the country, in the whole and in its parts, was being most wrongfully crippled by this excess of sectionalism. Cantonal particularism was an obstacle to the general progress in economic as well as in political matters. The development of roads and railways was interfered with; uniformity of currency, weights, measures and postal service was unattainable; commerce was hampered at every turn. An understanding of the material benefits of closer unity helped to rouse into activity the national consciousness that was now thoroughly awakened among the bulk of the Swiss people.

Matters came to a head in August 1847, when the Diet resolved by a large majority upon the revision of the Pact of 1815. A blow that the cantons of the Sonderbund felt to be even more immediately directed at themselves was the order passed by the Diet for the expulsion of the Jesuits, whom the Swiss Protestants and Liberals held to be largely responsible for the prevailing discords. After ineffective negotiations between

the opposing parties the representatives of the seven Sonderbund cantons—Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Freiburg and the Valais—quitted Bern on 29th October, and the majority in the Diet prepared to assert its will by armed force.

Meanwhile Switzerland was being made the object of diplomatic intrigue among the great Powers. The view of events taken by Louis-Philippe and his minister Guizot in France, and by Metternich in Austria, was that since the neutrality of Switzerland had been guaranteed by the Powers in 1815 the Powers were bound to uphold the Pact concluded in that year, and were entitled to intervene if the Pact were threatened. In fact, they favoured the Sonderbund and reaction—even to the extent of smuggling arms into the dissident cantons. A scheme was devised of getting the Powers to agree to joint diplomatic action in Switzerland. But Metternich and Guizot —that strangely-assorted pair of reactionaries—found their match in a great English statesman. Had it not been for Lord Palmerston Switzerland might have shared, temporarily at any rate, the fate of Poland; and he saved the country, not by the robust methods that are usually associated with his name, but by cool and purposeful wasting of time. He accepted the principle of common diplomatic action, but raised objection after objection on details; meanwhile, he sent to the Federal party at Bern a private exhortation to hurry up and get their business done. At length Palmerston consented to an offer by the Powers to mediate between the Federalists and the Sonderbund. He had calculated to a hair-breadth; precisely at that time it was all over with the Sonderbund.

There had been a war, and the Federalists had gained a swift and easy triumph. They had raised an army of nearly 100,000 men with 278 guns under the veteran General Dufour, honoured by the Swiss as a skilled soldier and a humane conqueror. Against this host the Sonderbund brought into the

field 30,000 men with eighty-seven guns; their commander-in-chief was General de Salis-Soglio, a Conservative but, oddly enough, a Protestant. Dufour followed Palmerston's secret advice and carried on the war, once it was started, at top speed. Having detached a force to hold the Valaisians in check he marched upon Freiburg and forced it to capitulate on 14th November. He then promptly employed nearly the whole of his army in a concerted advance upon Lucerne. Salis-Soglio had meanwhile invaded Aargau, but the news of Freiburg's fall and of the Federal march to Lucerne compelled him to retreat. The men of Uri dissipated their energies in two raids upon Ticino; the second brought a victory but no profit. The decisive action was fought on 23rd November at Gislikon, in the valley of the Reuss, a few miles west of Zug. The Forest men, attacking with their ancient fire, were able temporarily to drive the enemy back; but they were outnumbered and outmanœuvred, their commander was grievously wounded, and after a six hours' conflict they retired in utter discouragement upon Arth and Lucerne. That town yielded on the following day, the Forest cantons on the three following days, and the Valais on the 29th. Zug, which had little heart in the Sonderbund movement, had surrendered before the final battle. The campaign lasted twenty days altogether, and the total casualties of both sides amounted only to 102 killed and 376 wounded.

Dufour had completely succeeded in his object of conducting the war with the maximum of swiftness and the minimum of slaughter. When the struggle was ended every effort was made to avoid wounding the feelings of the weaker party and to obliterate the memory of strife. Political changes in the Conservative cantons were inevitable; the Liberals, who had been driven out at the height of the Sonderbund movement, returned and asserted control in Freiburg, Lucerne and the Valais. Neuchâtel, which had remained neutral throughout the

war, conducted a democratic revolution, its overlord, the King of Prussia, not opposing.

France and Austria, however, had learnt nothing from the triumph of the Federal party. They still sought to promote diplomatic intervention, and Palmerston, who knew now that intervention could come to nothing, did not trouble to oppose them any longer. On 18th January 1848 a combined note came from the Powers protesting against any change of the Pact of 1815. The Confederate Diet received the note with polite indifference, and went on with its arrangements for changing the Pact. France and Austria began to prepare for military measures. But by the end of February Louis Philippe was flying before a revolution, and Guizot had shared in his king's disaster. Ere many days had passed the Austrian emperor had forsaken his throne, and Metternich's long mastery of the affairs of mid-Europe had been ended by his expulsion from power. The continent was convulsed by revolutionary throes, violent but mostly abortive; and meanwhile little Switzerland, her discords over, was devising a method of government that was to help in making her one of the happiest nations of modern times.

On 17th February 1848 the Confederate Diet entrusted the work of drawing up a new Constitution to a commission of twenty-five. This commission, in its turn, left the task of drafting to the statesmen Kern and Druey, and their scheme was approved in the Diet by fifteen and a half cantons to six and a half. The opponents were the inflexible Forest cantons, Ticino, the Valais, Zug and the Inner Rhoden of Appenzell. On 1st September the new Constitution was submitted to popular vote, and was ratified by 169,743 to 71,899. The Federal Assembly met for the first time on 6th November, and on 16th November it chose Jonas Fürrer of Zürich as first President of the Swiss Federation. Switzerland's new era had begun. She had ceased to be a *Staatenbund*,

in the expressive German terminology, and had become a *Bundesstaat.*

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

St Gotthard Road.
Splügen Road and Via Mala.
St Bernardin Road.
Simplon Hospice (completed 1825).
Battlefield of Gislikon (near Zug).

CHAPTER XII

MODERN SWITZERLAND

(*i.*) *Federalism*

THE aim of the authors of the Swiss Constitution of 1848 was to steer a middle course between the sectionalism that had crippled Switzerland under the Pact of 1815 and the doctrinaire uniformity that had been attempted, and had failed, in the days of the Helvetic Republic. The best guidance afforded to them by their own country's history was contained in Napoleon's Act of Mediation; but even more important to them was the living and working model of Federalism in the United States of America. On broad lines Swiss Federalism was framed on the American example—but with differences that grew more marked after the revision of the Constitution in 1874.

As in America, Federal power was made a reality, but the sovereignty of the separate states, while limited, was strictly maintained. The relations of Federation and cantons were defined in a written Constitution, which explicitly stated the powers of each and forbade each to trespass on the other's authority. If any change should be desired in these relationships a process was arranged by which the change should be carried out.

But while the Federal body was not in 1848, and is not now, a supreme body, its authority and dignity were vastly enhanced by comparison with those of the Confederate Diet that

preceded it. The Federal legislature was composed of two chambers, the members of which were chosen on the American plan. The Council of States contained forty-four members altogether—two from each canton; the six half-cantons each returned one member. The National Council was composed of members elected on a basis of population—one for every 20,000 inhabitants. Thus a large canton like Bern and a small canton like Glarus have each two members in the Council of States, but Bern is enormously stronger than Glarus in the National Council. The two chambers were given precisely equal powers, and all measures had to be approved by both before becoming law.

At this point we come to a departure from the American system. The American Senate and House of Representatives never meet as a single body. The two Swiss Chambers do so habitually. The two together form the Federal Assembly, which settles differences between the two houses and elects the Federal Executive and the Federal Tribunal. The Federal Executive or Council consists of seven Ministers of State, chosen for three years; their chairman, elected annually by the Federal Assembly, is called President of the Swiss Republic. But he has not the sweeping administrative powers of the popularly-elected United States President; administration belongs to the Federal Council as a whole. A Swiss Ministry does not fall if its conduct is disapproved by Legislature or people. Once a Minister resigned because a proposal of his had been defeated by popular vote, and his conduct was denounced as unconstitutional. Ministers may speak and introduce measures in either chamber, but may not vote.

The National Council was chosen by direct popular vote every three years; the Council of States not necessarily so—the cantons had, and still have, discretion as to how they appoint their representatives and the duration of membership. The choice was mostly made by the cantonal Legislatures; it

is only of late years that the popular vote has been adopted by many cantons as a means of returning the cantonal delegates. In the states that preserved their sovereign popular assemblies, or Landsgemeinden, there was, of course, direct popular election from the first. Bern was chosen as the place of assembly of the Federal power; it was called the Federal city—the term capital was avoided lest the susceptibilities of other great towns should be injured.

The powers of the new Federal body included control of posts and telegraphs, supervision of railways, superintendence of national public works, establishment of uniform currency and weights and measures, and an increased but insufficient authority in Army organization and training. Certain rights—equality before the law, religious freedom (with certain exceptions), freedom of the Press and of public meeting — were federally guaranteed to all Swiss citizens. But free trade within the Republic was not yet established, and the project of a Federal university was not fulfilled. A great technical university, however, was established under Federal auspices at Zürich in 1855. It remains to be said that the guarantees given to the monasteries in 1815 were withdrawn, and that the Jesuits were expelled from every part of the country.

The Constitution of 1848 provided the essential framework of modern Swiss polity. It was revised, in the interests of greater centralization and more immediate popular control, in 1874. During the intervening years the new Swiss system was fairly tested and found to be on broad principles the best system that could have been devised. These years, if tranquil on the whole, were not uneventful. The Federal government had early troubles with regard to political refugees, who, after the European uproars of 1848, were numerous and distinguished —among them, to mention only three names, were Mommsen, Wagner and Mazzini. The Italian patriot conspired on Swiss territory with a cool disregard of the interests of his hosts and

protectors that was too common among the exiles of that day, and the Federal government had numerous difficulties which it overcame by a consistent and wise policy of never denying asylum but strongly discouraging conspiracy.

The most dangerous experience in the history of the new Federation was connected with the anomalous state of Neuchâtel. The rising of 1848 had made the power of the King of Prussia in Neuchâtel merely nominal. The king did not seem to mind, and if matters had remained quiet the double rule might have survived until 1871, when the canton would probably have received urgent attention from the newly-proclaimed German emperor. But matters did not remain quiet. In 1856 the ultra-Royalists of Neuchâtel attempted a rising, but were defeated and most of them captured. King Frederick William IV. was not privy to the outbreak, but it is suspected that the Crown Prince—afterwards the Emperor William I.—knew something about it. The king, however, felt bound to demand the release of his imprisoned supporters. Switzerland bargained for the renunciation by the King of all claims to Neuchâtel, and he refused. Napoleon III. made a brief intervention on behalf of the Swiss, and then, apparently deeming it advisable that they should have a fright, backed out again. The Swiss were not frightened. When the King of Prussia prepared to march an army to Neuchâtel, the national cause was taken up by every canton with stirring enthusiasm; every man who could bear arms was eager to fulfil his part; and a powerful force, under the aged Dufour, was rapidly assembled to meet the Prussians. The spirit of the Swiss made an immense impression upon Europe. Napoleon III. intervened once more, and a conference gathered at Paris in March 1857, the Swiss releasing their Royalist prisoners as a preliminary. The outcome of the conference was that the King of Prussia made a very bad bargain, losing Neuchâtel and gaining practically nothing in return. The freedom of Neuchâtel

from all foreign control was formally recognized on 26th May 1857.

Switzerland fared less prosperously three years later, when she herself came into conflict with the ingenious French emperor. Napoleon had appropriated Savoy as his reward for assisting the King of Sardinia against the Austrians in Italy. The Swiss believed they had a claim to Chablais and Faucigny, south of Lake Leman, and in 1860 the more ardent spirits were anxious to assert the claim in arms. The Federal Government preferred diplomacy; they were cleverly jockeyed by Napoleon, and through his subtlety and their own blunders they failed to gain a rood of Savoy territory. In 1862, however, they secured a portion of the Dappes Valley, on the Vaud frontier, which had been abstracted from Switzerland by Napoleon I.

Ere we return to Swiss internal politics three memorable circumstances ask for our attention. The first was the assembling in 1864 of the Geneva Convention, that has exercised so potent an influence on the humanizing of warfare. Not only did the Convention, at which all civilized nations were represented, assemble on Swiss soil; Switzerland had an honourable part in the convoking of it and the framing of its decisions, and General Dufour was its President.

The second was the beginning of the St Gotthard railway tunnel. Railway policy had from 1848 onwards been a matter of profound interest to the Swiss, and the Federal Government in their earliest days had toyed with the project of a national railway system. But the development was left to private companies, some of which prospered while others did not. The notion of penetrating the Alps by rail did not occur to the Swiss until the Austrians began to lay their line across the Brenner Pass and the French undertook to burrow through Mont Cenis. The Swiss Government deemed it well that their country also should possess an international Alpine route, and negotiations were begun with the German states and

Italy for the construction of a tunnel beneath the St Gotthard Pass. A convention was drawn up by which the German states and Italy agreed to find part of the cost, while two Swiss railway companies found the rest. The Convention was ratified by the Swiss Legislature after hot discussion—the foreign element in the project was disliked—on 22nd July 1870. This extraordinary achievement of engineering—in which the tunnel itself is only one of the marvels—was begun in 1872, and it was not until ten years later that passengers were whirled in giddy curves and contortions up the wild gorge of the Reuss, and carried through the bowels of the mountains to the more luxuriant splendours of the Val Leventina. Three nations shared in the honour of the feat; but the lion's share was Switzerland's—it was a Swiss captain of industry, Alfred Escher, who organized the triumph, and a Swiss engineer, Louis Favre, who executed it.

Later developments in connection with the great tunnel have caused considerable recent excitement in Switzerland. When the St Gotthard line was taken over by the state in 1909 Germany and Italy, as parties to the original undertaking, demanded that their goods should be placed on the same footing as Swiss goods with respect to charges. This involved heavy financial loss to Switzerland, and was resented as an interference with the country's internal affairs. There was much angry discussion, but ultimately a Convention conceding the foreign demands was signed in 1913.

The third circumstance was the Franco-German war. Switzerland, anxiously neutral, was in some risk of being drawn into the affray by the appeal of Savoy, whose neutrality was like Switzerland's a matter of international guarantee, for Swiss protection against German intrusion. But the Germans, as it happened, did not intrude upon Savoy. Lavish help was offered by the Swiss to both combatants in the care of the wounded, and it was through Swiss intervention that

800 old men, women and children were rescued from the horrors of the siege of Strassburg and taken to a place of safety. The most remarkable episode of the war from the Swiss standpoint, however, was the interning of the French army of the East. This host of 85,000 men under Bourbaki, foiled disastrously in its attempt to relieve Belfort, retreated in hopeless disorder through Pontarlier and sought refuge on neutral ground. On 1st February 1871 it crossed the frontier; the Swiss promptly disarmed the fugitives and took careful possession of them until the end of the war. Thus were the obligations of neutrality fulfilled; the obligations of hospitality were fulfilled also—the French soldiers were treated with the utmost kindness by authorities and people, and they recrossed the frontier looking a very different body of men from the tattered and starving victims of war who had sought shelter in February. France, for all her troubles, did not grudge the twelve millions of francs that she paid to indemnify Switzerland for the cost of the internment.

(*ii.*) *The Constitution of* 1874—*The Referendum*

All this time the nation was gradually ripening for further Constitutional change. The Swiss Liberals, who usually had a large predominance in the Legislature, aimed at the further extension of Federal as opposed to cantonal powers. They sought, especially, to nationalize the education system, and to bring the Army, still in the main a cantonal organization, more effectively under Federal control. The notion was also mooted of applying the Referendum, already adopted by some of the more progressive cantons, to Federal politics. Even the Council of States was objected to by the more advanced Liberals; they resented the equal representation of the cantons as a sin against democracy. Cantonal rights were stoutly

defended by the Conservative Party, which had its chief strongholds in the Forest states and in Freiburg, and the first attempt at Constitutional reform was repulsed. A scheme for unifying the terms of citizenship in all the cantons, and for centralizing the Army administration, was submitted to the popular vote in 1872 and defeated by a narrow majority.

In the following year, however, the cause of the Liberals was strengthened by ecclesiastical troubles. The Bishop of Basel, who had taken up his quarters at Solothurn, expelled certain priests for refusing to recognize papal infallibility; the cantons in his diocese (except Lucerne and Zug) retaliated by expelling the bishop. An able and ambitious cleric named Mermillod tried to re-establish the see of Geneva, and got himself appointed "apostolic vicar" of the place. Geneva was in consternation, and Protestant Switzerland shared its feeling; the Federal Council ordered Mermillod to quit Switzerland, and when the pope hotly criticized the Swiss attitude the papal Nuncio was handed his passports.

The Liberals took advantage of the wave of emotion caused by these events to carry their reforms. On 19th April 1874 a comprehensive scheme of Constitutional change was submitted to the people, and was carried by fourteen and a half cantons to seven and a half, and by 340,199 votes to 198,013.

By the Constitution of 1874 the Federal authority was greatly strengthened at the expense of the cantons, although these still retained their sovereignty in the matters left to their control. The citizenship of the cantons was unified by the provision that three months' residence in any of them entitled a Swiss to all cantonal and communal rights. The marriage law, copyright, bankruptcy, and to a large extent the regulation of commerce, were taken over by the Federal Government. Free elementary education was established under Federal auspices, although each canton was allowed to manage its own educational scheme. The cantons continued to raise the national militia, but

their training, pay and armament were made Federal matters. Complete religious freedom was allowed so long as it was compatible with public order; but the Jesuits were still excluded, and no new religious houses were permitted to be established.

The change, however, that gave the Constitution of 1874 its leading characteristic was the introduction of the Referendum. This method of placing the ultimate decision in legislation directly in the hands of the people themselves has been a more closely-studied feature of the Swiss political system than even Federalism itself; no device of government in any modern country has been so attentively scanned by foreign observers, and the arguments for and against the Referendum, based on Swiss experience, are familiar to the politicians of most civilized countries, including our own. Let it be noted, in the first place, that the Swiss were not precisely making a leap in the dark when they adopted the Federal Referendum in 1874. Polls of the people had been taken by the Grisons Leagues and in the Valais as early as the sixteenth century; and direct democracy—of which the Referendum is simply an adapted form—had been familiar to the Swiss through all the ages in the Landsgemeinden of the Forest cantons. The Referendum, indeed, is a logical and natural expansion of the Landsgemeinden; it is not an innovation, but the fulfilment of a most ancient tradition. By 1874, moreover, the Referendum, as already stated, was in full working order in its modern form in several of the cantons. Even on the Federal scale it was familiar. Constitutional revision under the Act of 1848 had to be submitted to popular vote, and we have seen how the Act of 1848 itself was submitted to the suffrages of the nation.

The Referendum in Switzerland takes two forms. One kind is the obligatory Referendum, by which all measures, or all measures of a certain class, must be submitted to popular vote ere they become law. This method is applied in Federal

Federal Parliament Buildings, Bern

Switzerland to any proposals for the alteration of the Constitution, in whole or in part. These *must* be sanctioned by popular vote before any change can be made. Federal laws that do not affect the text of the Constitution *may* be submitted to popular vote; the condition is that within three months of the passing of such laws by the Federal Legislature a Referendum shall be requested by 30,000 citizens or by eight cantons. This is called the optional or facultative Referendum. When the vote is taken both the approval of the majority of all the voters, and of a majority of the voters in most of the cantons, is necessary for a decision. It is also required that at least 30 per cent. of the electors should record their votes for the Referendum to hold good.

It may be well here to complete the explanation of the Referendum by describing its ultra-democratic development the Initiative. In adopting this device in 1891 the Federation again followed the lead of the more advanced cantons;[1] but it followed with caution, and the Federal Initiative is limited in its uses. It applies only to partial revision of the Constitution. A proposal for such a revision, supported by the votes of 50,000 citizens, must be considered by the Legislature, and must afterwards be submitted to a Referendum. This bestowal upon the voters themselves of the right to legislate is the very last word in popular government and virtually supersedes the representative system. But it is to be remarked that the Initiative has been very sparingly used by the Swiss people, and that proposals introduced by means of it have usually been rejected by the subsequent Referendum.

It is not required here that we should discuss whether these devices of the Referendum and the Initiative are as applicable to other lands as they are to Switzerland. Our affair is to

[1] The device, however, was not quite new even in Federal politics. Under the Constitution of 1848 50,000 citizens could require that Constitutional revision should be considered.

consider their effect upon Switzerland itself. The first point is that the Referendum is a conservative weapon—that its influence is, on the whole, against change. Any assumption that direct popular government must lead to extreme courses is disproved by the recent history of the Swiss. They are the most democratic people in the world, and yet the intervention of the voters in legislation has not been a cause of excess, but a safeguard against it. Not that there has been any reaction in Swiss polity. In the Federal elections the Liberal or advanced party always carries the day. But while the majority of the Swiss people prefer to have Liberals to legislate for them, they keep a very tight hand on the legislation that the Liberals pass. The duty of actually deciding whether a measure is to become law or not has a steadying effect, and the elector who has voted for a reforming candidate thinks twice and oftener ere he votes for the candidate's reform. The question of whether this system is to be preferred or not to strictly representative government is one that goes right down to the roots of politics and is outside the scope of a historical sketch. But it should at any rate be said that in the case of Switzerland the action of the Referendum, although open to criticism from various standpoints, has proved no hindrance to the contentment and well-being of a singularly happy nation.

Another point is that the Referendum has not fulfilled the expectation that it would turn the Swiss into a fervently political people, after the manner of the Athenians of old. There is enough of politics in Switzerland to occupy the citizen's mind, if he be so disposed, to the exclusion of everything else. With Federal, cantonal and communal elections, and the Federal and cantonal Referendum, he may, if he pleases, haunt the polling-booth incessantly, and devote his life to the study of political questions for the solution of which he has a direct responsibility. For all this, politics in Switzerland are a very tranquil business. Referendum statistics

show that as a general rule half or more of the citizens do not trouble to vote at all. Many of the matters referred to them are of course of very minor interest even to the Swiss themselves, and when some question of real moment has arisen, such as the nationalization of the railways or army reform, the voting percentages are very much higher. But even then there is no excitement—politics are simply all in the day's work. The tumult of a British or French General Election, "a mountain tumbling in great travail, throwing up dust-clouds and absurd noises," as Carlyle has written, has rarely a parallel in a country where polling-day occurs so often that it would be insane and ruinous to lose one's head over it. It is not that the Swiss are stupid or apathetic in politics—as a nation they have a high degree of political intelligence—but their political affairs follow a normal and pedestrian course, and convulsions are very rare. Yet their history proves them to be a distinctly touchy people. The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be that ultra-democracy in Switzerland has promoted national conservatism and national stability.

The effect of the Referendum upon the character of the Legislature is another matter that would lead us, if we chose to follow it, into deep places of political philosophy. Is the representative system to be regarded as the true democratic government, or merely as a convenient and, in some degree, necessary substitute for direct democracy? The Swiss Federal Legislature is not the final authority even in the matters that are constitutionally its concern, and hence it suffers theoretically by comparison with Legislatures the decisions of which straightway acquire the force of law, with a rarely-exercised veto of king or president as the only check upon them. It is sufficient here to suggest these problems without discussing them. But it is highly important to remember that the Swiss Executive is a body with a fixed term of life, not liable to be overthrown either by defeat in the Chambers or by a hostile

popular vote. Thus a Referendum can be held without any risk of causing the political upheaval that might be brought about by its operation in a country where Ministers are wont to stand or fall with their policy.

One other influence the Referendum has had upon the Swiss people. It has helped to give them a sense of national unity. The political, racial, linguistic and religious divisions that make Switzerland, for its size, the most variegated country in the world, needed more than one strong solvent, and the Referendum has been a powerful aid to the Federal system in promoting a feeling of common nationality. The Swiss have by it been repeatedly made to feel that they are a single people, called upon to decide, in the interest of all, problems affecting all. The Referendum has kept them in touch with the Republic, which otherwise might have fallen back into a certain remoteness by comparison with the more intimate issues of canton and commune. Taking everything into account, it is really a very wonderful circumstance that Switzerland should be a nation. The initial causes lie far back in the country's history; Federalism and the Referendum have been the final and completing causes.

It now remains to glance quickly at the almost uninterruptedly tranquil progress of Swiss events since 1874. Foreign affairs may be very easily dismissed. Some further friction over the question of asylum for political refugees, and a brief dispute with Italy in 1902, are all the trouble that the country has had in the way of diplomatic complications, apart from the St Gotthard controversy already described. For the rest, Switzerland's official dealings with the foreigner have been mainly in the way of fiscal bargainings, for she is a Protectionist state. It was not until 1887, indeed, that the last cantonal customs duties were abolished and Switzerland gained free trade within her own borders,

In internal policy there has been a slow and interrupted

but none the less a steady tendency towards greater centralization and the increase of Federal powers. The operation of the Referendum, as we have seen, has been adverse to hasty change. But from time to time the people have assented to some new extension of Federal authority, and the extensions thus gradually accumulated amount in the mass to a considerable advance. The earliest proposal accepted by the people was that establishing a civil marriage law in 1876. A series of minor changes followed, and in 1891 a project for the nationalization of the railways was submitted to Referendum for the first time and defeated. By 1898, however, public opinion had changed; the principle of nationalization was approved by the majority in a vote in which 77 per cent. of the citizens—a high percentage for a Referendum—gave their votes, and the state took over the railways by instalments in 1901, 1903 and 1909. A different kind of experiment in "State Socialism" was tried in 1912, when the Legislature passed, and the people sanctioned, a scheme of compulsory sickness insurance. Only one sweeping change of a Constitutional character has been tried since 1874, and it was tried unsuccessfully. In 1900 there was a demand, through the Initiative, for the election of the National Council by proportional representation, and for the choice of the Ministry or Federal Council by popular vote instead of by the Federal Assembly. Here again the Federation was asked to follow the example of the more advanced cantons; but the innovations were rejected by Referendum. In 1910 a further attempt was made by Initiative to establish proportional representation in National Council elections, but the Referendum was hostile.

(*iii.*) *The Army*

In 1907 important changes were made in the Swiss Army system, which, next to Federalism and the Referendum, is

the most distinctive feature of the national polity. Switzerland's neutrality is guaranteed by the Powers; but she has never regarded this guarantee as depriving her of liberty in international action, and she wisely refuses to depend for her defence upon paper assurances—even although these assurances have now endured for a complete century. Swiss feeling, however, has been altogether opposed to a standing army in the ordinary sense. Her defence rests with a militia or territorial force on a national and compulsory basis. All able-bodied Swiss men, with few exceptions, are trained in the use of arms; and every man thus trained, until he reaches the age of forty-eight, is liable to be called upon to serve in the fighting-line.

This citizen army is organized partly on a cantonal and partly on a Federal basis. Under the Pact of 1815 the Confederacy merely maintained a War Office for the purpose of co-ordinating the cantonal forces. By the Constitution of 1848 the central Government took in hand the training of cavalry, artillery and engineers; by that of 1874, as we have seen, it assumed control of the training of the entire Army, supplied the materials of war, and appointed to all the higher commands. The great change of 1907 was the extension of the term of training, and it is significant of the patriotic spirit of the Swiss people that the proposal to demand more of the citizens' time for military training was carried in the Referendum by a large majority.

Liability to service extends from a man's seventeenth to his forty-eighth year. The actual training begins at twenty, when the recruit is expected to pass not only medical and literary tests, but a physical test consisting of a long jump of eight feet, the lifting of a weight of about thirty-seven pounds four times with both hands at once, and the running of about eighty yards in less than fourteen seconds. Entry into the citizen army is thus a matter of mild emulation. The infantry recruits then undergo sixty-five days of continuous

training—cavalrymen and artillerymen have a longer spell—and until they reach the age of thirty-two they are in the first line, the *Auszug* or *Élite*, and come up for training for eleven days in the first seven years. From thirty-two to forty the citizen soldiers are in the second line or *Landwehr*, and undergo eleven days' training once in that time. Then they pass into the *Landsturm* or reserve, which has no annual training but is liable to be called upon to serve in emergency. The cavalry have a longer *Auszug* stage and no *Landwehr*. After eight years in the *Landsturm* the military career of the citizen is officially at an end. But if ever the land should be again in danger there is not a doubt that many a grey head will be seen among the ranks of its defenders.

Even if peril to the little Swiss state were an impossibility, the citizen army would be justified in its existence as an outlet of public spirit and a tonic to the nation's manhood. Nor is it an army by any means to be despised in the purely military sense, despite the comparative scantiness of its training. It is intended purely for defence, and it guards a country that offers prodigious natural obstacles to an invader. Will the invader ever come? Switzerland seems a very secure country; but we must bear in mind that its security, both internally and internationally, depends less upon solid foundations than upon accurate balance, and the guarantee of neutrality might prove a feeble safeguard against the desperate designs of a great Power in the throes of war. Switzerland is therefore justified in seeking a better safeguard; and if, in the process of years, she has extinguished much of her past, we may learn some day that the tradition of her military renown still survives, and still incites to high deeds and unflinching sacrifice.

(*iv.*) *The Cantons*

If the powers of the cantons have been steadily reduced by Federal encroachments upon them, these powers are still an

enormously important element in Swiss national life. The cantons are not, and are not likely to become, mere local government areas. The functions of their governing bodies are largely concerned with what is called local government; but the essential thing to remember is that they carry out these functions in their own right, not as subordinate agents of the central authority. Within the limits set by the Constitution they are absolutely self-governing states, whose actions—within these limits—are subject to no control whatsoever. They may frame what Constitutions they please, provided that they do not infringe the national requirements of liberty and equality. The administration of justice belongs to them. The Federal High Court settles disputes between the Federation and cantons, and between canton and canton; but, except in certain specified cases, it cannot interfere with the decisions of cantonal courts in the ordinary process of justice. The police system, the land laws, and to a large extent the labour laws, are cantonal matters; and local administration in all its details is dignified by the circumstance that it is conducted by a sovereign body that has to ask nobody's leave for any of its enactments.

The right of each canton to frame its own Constitution has in most cases been vigorously exercised during the last half-century. We are confronted with a formidable array of twenty-five Constitutional histories—for each half-canton has tried its own experiment—and the country as a whole presents the aspect of a political exhibition, in which all the expedients of democratic rule are shown in full working order.[1]

It is only possible to deal with a collection of this character by means of grouping. The most distinctive group, and certainly the most interesting to the foreign observer, is that of the cantons in which the government is carried on, in the

[1] No canton, however, has yet experimented with Woman Suffrage.

ancestral manner, by the whole body of the citizens. The Landsgemeinde, the most ancient democratic institution in the world, still assembles for its yearly exercise of sovereignty in Uri, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Glarus and the two parts of Appenzell. Schwyz and Zug lost their Landsgemeinden in 1848. The Landsgemeinde, usually held on a Sunday in the spring, is attended by all citizens who have reached the age of twenty years (eighteen years in Nidwalden). In both divisions of Appenzell citizens who do not attend are fined. The Landsgemeinden legislate for the community; no Referendum or Initiative is needed in these cantons—the work of rule is done by the assembled people under the open sky. But since the Landsgemeinde only meets once a year it is necessary to provide for administration between whiles. The people consequently appoint an Executive—varying in numbers from six in Glarus to eleven in Nidwalden, and chosen in some cases for three years and in others for longer—and in addition a sort of Standing Committee of the Landsgemeinde is elected, for a term of years varying in different cantons, by the communes on a numerical basis. The Landsgemeinde also chooses the Landammann—the State President—and the two members of the Council of States in the Federal Legislature. The members of the National Council are in some cases chosen by the Landsgemeinde, in the rest by the ordinary process of the ballot-box.

In these cantons we see the ancient direct democracy adapting itself to modern conditions, and not needing much adaptation. In the other cantons we see a series of attempts by modern devices to imitate the simple completeness of the ancient direct democracy. In one respect the usage is absolutely uniform. All the cantonal Legislatures—single Chambers in every case—are elected by popular vote on a numerical basis. Nearly all the Executives are now also elected by popular vote. The method is not a uniform one in all

cases. In St Gall, for instance, the Legislature is elected by the communes in accordance with their numerical strength, whereas the Executive is chosen by communes grouped into electoral circles. The choice of the Executive used to rest in many cases with the Legislature, but the more democratic plan now generally prevails. Bern adopted it in 1906, the Valais in 1907; Vaud and Freiburg alone adhere to the old system. The Legislatures and Executives are elected for fixed terms of three or four years. Solothurn has a special arrangement of its own by which 4000 citizens can demand a poll as to whether the Legislature shall dissolve and submit to a General Election. In most cases the two members of the Council of States are elected by the people; but in Bern, Freiburg, and a few other cantons, the members are still chosen by the Legislative Chambers.

In regard to Initiative and Referendum great variation exists. At the one extreme is Zürich, which has an obligatory Referendum for all legislation and for all financial proposals, while the Legislature may also submit to Referendum any other matter that it pleases; the Initiative may be set going either by one-third of the Legislature or by 5000 citizens. At the other extreme is Freiburg, which has neither Referendum nor Initiative. But Freiburg—the last stronghold of Conservatism in Switzerland—is unique in this matter; all the others (apart, as already stated, from the cantons with Landsgemeinden) have Referendum and Initiative in one form or another. In many the Referendum is only facultative—depending on the demand of a certain number of citizens—and more voters are usually required to start an Initiative than a Referendum. The financial Referendum occurs in other states besides Zürich, but is not common.

Several cantons have tried experiments in proportional representation. Altogether the detailed study of these cantonal Constitutions—for which there is no space in this

work—is highly instructive, although it has always to be remembered that the scale is a very small one, so small that it is impossible to base upon these cantonal essays any conclusions applicable to larger states. The Swiss themselves have not been willing to carry their Federal democracy to the lengths to which some of the cantonal democracies have fearlessly gone.

In nearly every case the Constitutional progress of the cantons has been absolutely peaceful. The exception is Ticino, the only Italian state of the Union, and the only state in which, during the last half-century, there has been serious political turbulence. Nearly all the people of the canton are Roman Catholics, but there has been hot division none the less between the Radicals and the Conservatives, who are of an Ultramontane cast. In 1888 Ticino was separated from the Milan diocese and became ecclesiastically the diocese of Lugano. This was really a recognition of Swiss religious distinctiveness, and the Federation approved of it. But the Ticino Radicals saw in it a clerical encroachment, and prepared for violent action. In 1890 they conducted a most fervent revolution with much bloodshed, and the Federal power had to intervene. The revolutionary leaders were tried in the Federal High Court and ultimately acquitted. Since then the two parties in Ticino have exchanged many hard words, but no blows to speak of.

While complete religious freedom is guaranteed by the Federation—except in the case of Jesuits and other persons suspected of designs on public order—the cantons may have their preferences among religious bodies. In most cantons certain forms of faith are established, or rather recognized as "public corporations," with certain privileges. This recognition is not by any means necessarily limited to one denomination in each canton.

A little may be said in conclusion as to the minor local

government of the cantons. The unit is the commune, the citizens of which elect a Communal Council, a body equivalent to the English Parish Council. There are communes, however, in the cities as well as the rural districts. The Council is presided over by a Syndic or Mayor. There are 3164 political communes in Switzerland, and the country is also divided into 187 political districts, each headed by a prefect. The latter are purely official divisions, and their prefects and staff are under the control of the cantonal authorities.

(*v.*) *The Country and the People*

Since 1848 Switzerland's political progress has aroused the curiosity and often the admiration of foreign observers, but it is not only politically that she has progressed. Both in intellect and in industry these later days have been days of fulfilment; the internal development of the country is one of the marvels of Europe—railways, telegraphs and telephones have penetrated to the uttermost fastnesses of the Alps, and obstacles to communication more formidable than mere distance have been overcome by resolute national enterprise.

The intellectual position of Switzerland cannot be fairly judged by the number of men with European eminence that she has recently produced. It is true that of late years she has given birth to no one with quite the lustre of Alexandre Vinet, the great Vaudois theologian, man of letters and reformer, who died just before the birth of the new era. But until 1890 Switzerland possessed Gottfried Keller, one of the most eminent of novelists who wrote in the German tongue. Geneva was the birthplace of Victor Cherbuliez, whose imaginative power and acid wit carried him into the French Academy. Nor should the name be omitted of Juste Olivier of Vaud, a poet who expressed the national spirit better, perhaps, than

any other writer born on Swiss soil. In science the greatest nineteenth-century Swiss name is that of Agassiz, most enthusiastic and engaging of modern scientists, who from his Swiss home set forth on far wanderings, to die at last amid the peaceful levels of Cambridge. Switzerland has in recent times possessed and continues to possess, a band of clear-minded and capable historians and archæologists who have laboured faithfully to disperse the mists that environed the origin of their native land.

The general intellectual level of the Swiss people is undoubtedly a high one. Switzerland was a pioneer country in education; the foundations of her system were laid in Napoleonic times, and to-day her "educational ladder" is singularly complete and accessible. The cantons, under Federal guidance, provide free elementary education for all; there are numerous and well-attended secondary schools, various higher schools, and seven universities. The ideal of a Federal University has never been realized, and the present-day Swiss see no particular need to realize it. The great technical university at Zürich is still the most notable Swiss educational foundation of a strictly Federal character.

A negative peculiarity of Switzerland is that she has given the world no great musician. A Swiss environment helped to inspire the masterpieces of Richard Wagner; yet Switzerland's own musical record is almost a blank. Except for the *Ranz des Vaches*, the cattle-call that is said to have had its origin in the Gruyères district, she has not even contributed a favourite melody to the common stock. Perhaps the future will atone for the past.

The greatest of Swiss industries is still agriculture in many branches—most distinctively the breeding of the dainty but robust little Swiss cattle, the making of cheese and dairy produce, and the culture of the vine. Silk and textile industries enjoy high prosperity in North Switzerland, and in the west the highly-skilled work of watch-making, introduced into

Geneva by Charles Cusin in 1587, still keeps its head well above water in despite of American competition. The largest enterprises of the Swiss in recent years, however, have not been so much in the way of industry as in the way of development. Not content to rest on their St Gotthard laurels, they have bored two other equally great tunnels—the Simplon (opened in 1906) and the Lötschberg (opened in 1913). But while the commanders in these wars with the powers of Nature have been Swiss, the rank and file have been Italians; the Swiss peasantry have an unconquerable aversion to navvy's work. Hardly less remarkable than these tunnelling achievements has been the controlling of torrents and the ingenious employment of the country's enormous water-power as atonement for its entire lack of coal.

The Swiss industry, however, that chiefly catches the eye of the foreign visitor—because he happens to be the raw material of it—is the *Fremdenindustrie*, the entertainment of strangers. It was in 1871 that one of the greatest of Alpine climbers, and the greatest of all writers on Alpine climbing, published a book called *The Playground of Europe*. The title that Sir Leslie Stephen gave to his work was relatively, if not absolutely, prophetic. The elaborate organization of the Alps as a pleasure resort was only in its beginnings. The mountains had won æsthetic appreciation, and the sport of mountaineering had passed through its splendid early stage. But the Swiss had not quite realized that in the Alps they owned a commercial as well as an æsthetic and athletic treasure.

Admiration for their mountains had been felt and expressed by the Swiss for centuries, but they did not carry the admiration to the length of climbing them, except in the way of business. Nor did visitors, until the nineteenth century, come to Switzerland in any numbers to look at the mountains or ascend them. Eighteenth-century opinion was disposed to regard

mountains as an entire mistake, and the early tourists were chiefly attracted by mineral springs, by the " whey cure," and by the accounts given by men of letters of the picturesque customs of the inhabitants. But the nineteenth century saw an entire change in the attitude towards mountains—properly speaking, the change began ere the eighteenth century had ended. It was reflected in all the great literatures; the tokens of it in our own literature are visible in Wordsworth above all, and in Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Ruskin. People tended at last to go to the mountains for the mountains' own sake. In 1816 a small inn was built on the summit of the Rigi; it was the birth of the *Fremdenindustrie.*

Conrad Gesner, with his sixteenth-century climbing enthusiasm, was far ahead of his time. His pioneering work, and that of a few contemporaries, aroused no special response. No high Alpine climb was achieved until 1779, when Prior Murith of the Great St Bernard ascended the Vélan. Seven years later Europe heard with astonishment of the first ascent of Mont Blanc. But the feat was regarded as we nowadays regard the attainment of the South Pole—something to wonder at but not to imitate. Soon afterwards an enthusiastic priest, Father Placidus à Spescha, did some very enterprising work among the mountains of the Tödi group. Early in the nineteenth century the Jungfrau and Finsteraarhorn were captured by Swiss climbers, some high Tyrolese peaks were attacked, and Italians made endeavours upon Monte Rosa. The British assault on the Alps began in the forties, was in full activity in the fifties, and reached its climax in 1865, when seven men made the first ascent of the Matterhorn and only three descended alive. This calamitous triumph, so unforgettably narrated by its English survivor, the late Mr Whymper, drew keen public attention to the deeds that were being done in the Alps by the English mountaineers and their valiant comrades and counsellors the Swiss guides. This

English mountaineering energy was given an organic form by the foundation of the Alpine Club in 1857. The German-Austrian Alpine Club began its career five years later, and in 1863 the Swiss formed an Alpine Club of their own. Unlike the inhabitants of some other mountain lands, the Swiss have not regarded mountaineering as an eccentricity of foreigners, and Swiss amateurs as well as the professional guides have won frequent distinction among the peaks.

Once the Swiss had grasped the fact that their Alps were a gold-mine they set themselves to working it with enterprise, assiduity, and entire success. The art of hotel-keeping has been developed into a national accomplishment; thousands of people are employed in it, and huge fortunes have been made at it—not, however, through extortion; the utmost care has been taken not to scare away the economical tourist. The climber has efficient guides at his disposal; the mountains are studded with club-huts for his accommodation; mountaineering has been facilitated to a degree that occasionally causes disdainful sniffing among hardy adventurers of the old school. The mere sight-seeing traveller has been provided with opportunities for observing many of the country's glories at close quarters without the slightest exertion. An elaborate railway system and admirably-engineered roads bring him to the foot of the mountains; mountain railways of wonderful contrivance carry him up to the heights and deposit him at the doors of luxurious hotels. There has been a serious danger, indeed, that the exploitation of the Alps would go too far and that the country would be spoiled for the sake of the tourists. An organized Swiss effort for the prevention of some contemplated outrages on Nature has been well supported in England and other countries, and the danger, if not averted, is at any rate being held in check. It is inevitable that places and scenes on the highways of Swiss tourist traffic should suffer a certain deterioration. But it is still, happily, an easy matter

to turn aside from the beaten track into noble solitudes that modernity has passed by and left unchanged.

It was to be expected that this inrush of foreigners—which now occurs in winter as well as in summer—would have its influence upon the Swiss people. A mixed nationality, they have never acquired national consciousness in the narrower sense; and the constant intercourse with strangers has tended to produce a cosmopolitan attitude among many of the population. The Swiss not only receive travellers but travel themselves. They visit many lands, no longer as armed mercenaries, but in the less aggressive capacities of clerks and waiters. There are few Swiss, not of the peasant class, who have not been abroad, and large numbers of them have two or three or more languages at their command. Yet this cosmopolitanism has not, so far, affected the patriotism of the Swiss; tolerant and accommodating towards other peoples, they are still unobtrusively but firmly themselves.

We have now traced the gradual welding of one portion of the Swiss nation after another upon the nucleus of the little Forest cantons. It has been narrated how the nation, after being for centuries imperfectly united—with one brief interval of forced centralization—has achieved a system by which the natural divisions are maintained in harmony and co-operation with the commonwealth. And to-day the little Swiss Republic, with inhabitants differing in race, language and religion, split constitutionally into separate compartments, abides prosperously and to all seeming securely amid an environment of mighty armed Powers compared with which all Switzerland is but a province. Is this security real or only fancied? It has been said above that both internally and externally it is a matter not of strong foundation so much as of accurate balance. Can the balance be upset?

So far as can be foretold, the peril is not serious. Racial distinctions are taken for granted in Switzerland; they are

part of the fabric of the state, and very rarely cause antagonism. Each race retains its own characteristics, modified by contiguity and common interests. The German Swiss are not quite like Germans, the French Swiss not quite like French. The thorough-going Republicanism of the land, with its lowering of social barriers, has prompted throughout the nation a sense of individual pride and independence of spirit which explains how it is that a Swiss can be a menial without being servile. Religion is a more awkward matter than race. Religious feeling is not extinct, whatever may be the latitudinarianism of the great towns. But danger to unity from this source is by common consent most carefully avoided. Political friction is kept down by the heavy restraining hand of the Referendum. Socialism, however, has made headway in Switzerland as elsewhere, and its potentialities for disorganization have not as yet been tested. But the internal menaces to the country's peace and welfare are remote, and her outlook is enviably serene.

Of dangers from abroad something has already been said in dealing with the Swiss plan of national defence. It may only be emphasized here that one has all the more confidence in Switzerland's safety in that she is visibly resolved not to exist on sufferance, but to hold her own if need arise. A tiny state, and relatively a weak state, her past history and her present patriotism inspire a respect that is worth more to her than diplomatic assurances. So let us trust that this land of matchless wonder and beauty may remain for all time in the ownership of the proud and free people who guard it as their home.

Notes on Places, Buildings, etc.

Bern—Federal Buildings and Historical Museum.
Lusanne—Federal Palace of Justice.
Zürich—Polytechnic, Swiss National Museum, Tonhalle, statue

of Alfred Escher (St Gotthard) and bust of Gottfried Keller in the Rathhaus.

Basel—Kunsthalle and monument to commemorate the rescue of non-combatants from Strassburg in 1870.

Geneva—Statue of General Dufour.

St Gotthard, Simplon and Lötschberg Tunnels.

Mountain Railways—Jungfrau, Gornergrat, etc.

NOTE

Works on the History of Switzerland

The following list is not a complete bibliography of Swiss historical literature. It is intended as an acknowledgment of the sources of information from which this volume has been compiled, and as a guide to readers who may wish to look further into the history of Switzerland. The author wishes to express a special indebtedness to the works of B. van Muyden and W. A. B. Coolidge.

(*i.*) *General Histories*

J. Dierauer. *Geschichte der Schweizischen Genossenschaft.*

B. van Muyden. *Histoire de la Nation Suisse.*

These are both modern works. The older standard histories, written by Swiss authors, are those of Daguet, Vulliémin and Dändliker.

W. D. M'Crackan. *The Rise of the Swiss Republic.*

W. A. B. Coolidge. Article "Switzerland" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica;* also articles on the various cantons, and on William Tell, Winkelried, etc.

W. A. B. Coolidge. *The Alps in Nature and History.* Giving admirable guidance along both the highways and the by-ways of Alpine history.

Lina Hug and R. Stead. *Switzerland* (Story of the Nations Series). Especially full in regard to Zürich history.

Grenfell Baker. *The Model Republic.*

(*ii.*) *Books dealing with Various Periods*

J. Heierli. *Urgeschichte der Schweiz.*

A. Schenk. *La Suisse Préhistorique.* These are recent authoritative works on prehistoric Switzerland.

Theodor Mommsen. *The Roman Provinces.*

Viscount Bryce. *The Holy Roman Empire.*

W. Oechsli. *Quellenbuch zur Schweizer Geschichte.* Giving texts of documents, etc.; a Swiss equivalent of Stubbs's *Select Charters.*

Meredith Read. *Historic Studies in Berne, Vaud and Savoy.*
J. H. Rose. *Life of Napoleon.*
B. van Muyden. *La Suisse sous le Pacte de* 1815.
J. Schollenberger. *Die Schweiz seit* 1848. *Die Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft von* 1874 *bis auf die Gegenwart* (1910).
J. M. Vincent. *Government in Switzerland.*
Sir F. O. Adams and C. D. Cunningham. *The Swiss Confederation.*
E. A. Freeman's *Historical Essays* on Swiss Subjects.

(*iii.*) *Miscellaneous.*

H. Vulliéty. *La Suisse á trávers les âges.* A valuable summary of the artistic and economic aspects of Swiss history.
V. Rahn. *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste in der Schweiz.*
Cantonal Histories. See lists of works under the various cantons in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*
Francis Gribble. *Literary Associations of Lake Leman.*

Mountaineering History

Francis Gribble. *The Early Mountaineers* and *The Story of Alpine Climbing.*
Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers. By Members of the Alpine Club.
Sir Leslie Stephen. *The Playground of Europe.*
Edward Whymper. *Scrambles amongst the Alps.*
John Tyndall. *Glaciers of the Alps,* and *Hours of Exercise in the Alps.*
Sir Frederick Pollock. Chapter I. of *Mountaineering* (Badminton Library).

Guidebooks

Guides of Baedeker, Ball, Coolidge, Grande (Bernese Oberland), Murray, Whymper (Zermatt), etc.

APPENDIX

[This Statistical Summary has been prepared by OLGA EPSTEIN.]

AREA AND POPULATION.—The total area covered by the twenty-two cantons which constitute the Swiss Confederation is 15,941 square miles. Of these 12,363 square miles (or 77.6% of the total area) are fertile, and 3578 square miles unproductive (22.4%).

The following is a list of the cantons, their area and population.

Canton	Area	Population		Pop. per Sq. Mile
	Sq. Miles	1st July 1910	1st July 1911	1910
Zürich (Zurich)	667	500,879	510,580	751.7
Bern (Berne)	2657	643,531	649,190	241.9
Luzern (Lucerne) ...	576	166,357	168,640	288.0
Uri	414	22,010	22,250	53.1
Schwyz	350	58,298	58,600	166.2
Obwalden (Unterwalden-le-Haut...	183	17,081	17,270	93.5
Nidwalden (Unterwalden-le-Bas	117	13,760	13,830	123.1
Glarus (Glaris)	264	33,278	33,370	124.3
Zug (Zoug)	92	28,026	28,330	304.5
Fribourg (Freiburg) ...	645	139,164	140,340	216.1
Solothurn (Soleure) ...	305	116,363	118,000	386.5
Basel-Stadt (Bâle-V) ...	14	134,930	137,230	9681.9
Basel-Land (Bâle-C) ...	164	76,154	76·960	467.7
Schaffhausen (Schafthouse)	115	45,903	46,360	403.0
Appenzell A-Rh.... ...	93	57,859	58,120	572.0
Appenzell T-Rh. ...	66	14,611	14,730	239.8
St Gallen (St Gall) ...	777	300,703	305,960	385.0
Graubünden (Grisons) ...	2745	116,547	117.710	42.6
Aargau (Argovie) ...	541	229,632	232,040	424.0
Thurgau (Thurgovie) ...	387	134,017	136,180	351.8
Ticino (Tessin)	1085	155,437	157,190	145.7
Vaud (Waadt)	1239	315,955	320,110	253.5
Valais (Wallis)	2020	127,797	128.920	63.9
Neuchâtel (Neuenburg)...	314	132,777	133,240	423.6
Genève (Genf)	108	153,980	156,280	1427.3
Switzerland	15,941	3,735,049	3,781,430	234.8

In the last forty years the population has increased by over one million. In 1871 the number was 2,664,349, while in December 1911 it was returned as 3,788,900. It is interesting to note that the most densely-populated districts lie at an altitude of from 1300-1600 feet above sea-level, while Grisons can boast of 6500 inhabitants living 6000 feet above sea-level.

Movement of Population.—During the years 1877-1911 marriages have decreased ·5 per 1000 of the population. The number of illegitimate births has not increased, varying between 4.6 (per 1000) in 1899 and 4.4 in 1906. On the other hand suicides are steadily growing more numerous: 1901, 747; 1910, 847; 1911, 894 (being 714 males and 180 females).

The following statistics show various movements in the population since 1877.

	Population	Marriages	Divorces	Births*	Deaths*	Per 1000 Inhabitants.		
						Mar.	Births*	Deaths
1877	2,764,930	21,871	1036	89,284	65,353	7.9	24.1	23.5
1887	2,899,626	20,646	925	81,287	58,93	7.1	26.2	20.2
1897	3,188,310	24,954	1011	90,087	56,399	7.8	28.1	17.6
1907	3,603,694	27,660	1494	94,508	59,252	7.4	27.9	16.4
1911	3,781,430	27,809	1623	91,320	59,619	7.4	32.0	15.8

* Exclusive of still births

A constant stream of emigration pours into America from Switzerland; the following table gives some figures.

	No. of Emigrants	U.S.A.	Argentine	Canada
1898	2288	1988	168	5
1902	4707	4227	230	6
1906	5296	4609	442	120
1910	5178	4072	683	195
1912	5871	4195	969	222
1913	6191	4367	874	391

The population of the principal towns was as follows on 1st December 1910:

Zürich, 189,088; Basel, 131,914; Geneva, 125,520; Bern, 85,264; Lausanne, 63,926; Lucerne, 39,152; St Gall, 37,657; Chaux de Fonds, 37,636.

German is spoken in eighteen of the cantons, French in six, Italian in two, and Roumansch and Italian in one (Grisons). In 1910 there were 2,599,154 German-speaking inhabitants, 796,244 French, 301,325 Italian and 39,834 Roumansch. There were 565,296 foreigners resident in Switzerland in 1910.

Constitution and Government (*a*) *Central Government.*—The present constitution of Switzerland dates from 29th May 1874. According to its terms the supreme legislative and executive authority is vested in a parliament of two chambers, the State Council and the National Council. The two chambers sitting together are called the Federal Assembly and as such represent the supreme government of Switzerland.

Each of the twenty-two cantons sends two representatives to the " Ständerath " or State Council. The rate of their payment and the method of their election vary in each canton. The National Council is composed of 189 members, elected by ballot once every three years at the rate of one for every 20,000 of the population. These representatives are paid out of the Federal funds at the rate of twenty francs for each day on which they attend the deliberations of the Council. In addition their travelling expenses to and from the capital are defrayed. Every male citizen of twenty-one years and upwards is entitled to vote, and every voter, except a clergyman, can be elected a representative.

Legislative action may be commenced by means of a popular initiative and laws passed by the Legislature may be vetoed by the popular vote, the Referendum. By this principle, if any measure passed by the Legislature is petitioned

against by 30,000 citizens, or if an alteration in it be demanded by eight of the cantons, the law must be submitted to the direct vote of the nation.

The principal executive body of the Federal Assembly is called the Federal Council and is composed of seven members who are the heads of the seven administrative departments of the Confederation. The Federal Councillors are elected for three years by the Assembly and are entitled to a salary of £480 per annum. All legislative measures are introduced to the Assembly by the Federal Councillors, who have a seat in the Assembly, but are not allowed to vote.

The Federal Assembly elects the President of the Confederation and the Vice-President of the Federal Council for a twelvemonth at the beginning of each year. The Vice-President of the Council is generally the President for the following year. The holders of these two offices are the two first magistrates of the Republic. The seat of the Council and of the seven Administrative Departments (Foreign Affairs, Justice and Police, Military, Posts and Railways, Finance and Customs, Interior and Agriculture and Industry) is in the town of Berne.

(*b*) *Local Government.*—Each of the cantons has its own local government, based on the principle of absolute democracy, but the prevailing form of government is not alike in all the cantons. In the smaller ones (*e.g.*, Appenzell, Glaris, Unterwalden and Uri) the people govern themselves directly in what is called a "Landesgemeinde," *i.e.*, all male citizens over twenty-one years of age meet in the open air at stated periods, make their own laws and appoint their own officials. In the larger cantons government is by delegation, *i.e.*, a body, called "der Grosse Rat," is chosen by universal male suffrage and is given legislative and executive authority. In all the cantons having representative bodies (excepting Fribourg) the constitution allows for a Referendum, which is most fully developed in Zürich. In many of the cantons the councillors and the

magistrates do their work in an honorary capacity or for a merely nominal payment.

EDUCATION.—Since 1874 elementary education is obligatory in Switzerland and the expenses are shared by the state and the communes together. Throughout the Confederation elementary schooling is free. There is no central body responsible for the organization of the schools, the work being carried on by the cantons individually, or even by the communes.

There were in Switzerland, in 1910, 1158 infant schools with 51,597 pupils and 1504 mistresses. The classes vary in size from twenty-three children in Geneva to sixty-six in Schwyz. The number of elementary schools was 4704 with 270,010 boys and 268,276 girls (total 538,286) and 12,182 teachers. Of these 7401 were males and 4781 females. The average number of children in a class was forty-four. The cost per scholar in the elementary schools is £4 per annum. Total cost of elementary schooling in 1910 was 55,785,497 francs (£2,231,419).

There were, in 1910, 652 secondary schools with 56,103 pupils (29,918 boys and 26,185 girls). The number of teachers was 2142 (1775 male and 367 female). The classes averaged twenty-six children. The total cost of these schools, borne by the cantons and the communes, was, in 1910, 7,623,833 francs (£304,953).

There were fifty teachers' training colleges in 1910. Thirty-six of these were public institutions, fourteen private. They were staffed by 388 male and 67 female lecturers (total 455), and were attended by 2979 students.

From the secondary schools to the universities is not a direct step in Switzerland. Forty-four middle or preparatory schools with 1124 lecturers and teachers trained 15,377 pupils (among them 1982 foreigners) for the matriculation standard. In addition to all these Switzerland provided six schools for practical agriculture with 250 pupils in 1913. During the

winter months there are eighteen such schools open, providing instruction when the workers are not so urgently needed on their own farms. These winter schools were attended by 1036 pupils and cost 382,304 francs (£15,292) to maintain in 1913. 71,000 francs (£2840) were spent on three Dairy-Farming schools attended by eighty-nine pupils. Thirty-seven technical schools with 4637 pupils in 1913 were subsidized by the State, only $\frac{1}{6}$th of the expenses being covered by the fees. The cost of the commercial schools, which were attended by 10,154 students in 1913, was shared between the State, the cantons, the communes and the Chamber of Commerce.

There were in Switzerland in 1911 thirty-seven reformatories with 1190 male and 337 female inmates (total, 1527); twenty-seven institutions for the feeble-minded with 731 males and 603 female inmates (total, 1334); thirteen homes and schools for the blind with 181 men and 140 women attending (total, 321); fifteen deaf and dumb schools with 412 boys and 375 girls attending (total, 787). The State subsidized, to the extent of £21,550 in 1913, 544 schools for domestic economy and other subjects.

The total cost of education in 1911 was 86,400,000 francs (£3,456,000), being shared as follows: State, 41,800,000 francs (£1,672,000); cantons and communes, 44,600,000 francs (£1,784,000).

There are in Switzerland seven universities which were attended as follows in the winter 1913-14:

	Theology	Law	Medicine	Philosophy	Total	Teaching Staff
Bâle ...	76	77	325	457	935	124
Zurich ...	31	324	682	651	1688	172
Berne ...	57	483	648	596	1784	168
Geneva ...	20	212	853	553	1638	153
Lausanne ...	13	264	346	569	1192	124
Fribourg ...	264	90	—	244	598	81
Neuchâtel ...	12	84	—	179	275	59

The University of Neuchâtel was only opened as such in 1909 and has no medical faculty. At Zürich there is a famous polytechnic school entirely maintained by the Federal Government and to which, since June 1911, the official title "The Federal Technical University" has been given. In 1911 this institution had 1333 matriculated students and 185 lecturers. In 1913 it cost 1,170,810 francs (£46,832) (after deducting all school fees, examination fees and donations) to maintain the technical university.

There are in Switzerland ample provisions for the loan of books. In 1911 there were altogether 5798 libraries with 9,384,943 volumes in Switzerland. Of these 76 were State libraries with 647,441 volumes, and 5722 were cantonal libraries with 8,737,502 volumes. Of the latter, two with 122,000 volumes have been in existence since the year 1000 A.D.

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS.—The post-office service has been rapidly expanded during the last thirty years.

	No. of Letters		No. of Circulars	
	Inland	Foreign	Inland	Foreign
1881	49,032,443	10,430,368	11,784,064	4,310,092
1891	65,822,200	13,102,804	23,389,243	6,028,344
1901	108,203,803	20,831,532	41,207,975	10,325,400
1911	164,110,056	27,636,473	6,854,039	16,980,778
1912	175,485,129	29,217,052	69,780,150	16,558,195
1913	180,471,603	35,785,439	71,330,198	16,686,200

	No. of Post Cards		Total	
	Inland	Foreign	Inland	Foreign
1881	7,188,785	2,007,616	68,005,292	16,748,076
1891	13,589,706	4,089,865	102,801,149	23,221,013
1901	43,435,936	17,388,638	192,847,714	48,545,570
1911	88,288,456	21,261,540	320,939,051	65.878,791
1912	87,100,792	22,291,841	332,366,071	68,067.088
1913	87,657,820	24,885,984	339,459,621	77,357,623

	Total Receipts	Expenses	Salaries	Surplus
1881	£639,953	£548,582	£300,340	£81,371
1891	1,014,859	949,384	481,811	67,475
1901	1,511,144	1,388,603	856,367	122,541
1911	2,417,590	2,267,535	1,458,568	150,054
1912	2,574,702	2,474,146	1,618,266	100,555
1913	2,657,352	2,617,169	1,710,932	40,184

The telegraph and telephone services are both also State owned; there were, in 1911, 2363 offices for the despatch of telegrams. The following figures show the growth of the two services since 1870.

	Receipts.			Expenditure			Cost of Erection		
	Telegrams	Telephones	Total	Telegram	Telephone	Total	Telegram	Telephone	Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1870	53,07	—	53,073	53,073	—	53,073	7236	—	7,236
1880	949,413	—	94,941	72,516	—	72,516	34	—	34
1890	112,384	60,012	172,396	94,384	36,288	130,672	8286	21,034	29,320
1901	121,151	262,252	383,403	125,211	299,970	425,181	3788	148,571	152,359
1911	181,850	517,224	699,074	181,850	317,224	699,084	682	155,117	155,799
1912*	—	—	741,672	—	—	701,290	—	—	—
1913	—	—	847,308	—	—	800,678	—	—	291,665

* Details after 1911 are not furnished.

	Telegraph.		Telephone	
	Length of Lines	Length of Wires	Length of Lines	Length of Wires
	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles
1880	4097	10,010	—	—
1885	4349	10,479	887	3,370
1890	4499	11,398	2,868	10,690
1901	4059	13,863	9,244	116,839
1911	2234	16,441	13,334	225,265
1912	2186	16,457	13,349	235,789
1913	2190	16,769	14,235	250,950

	Telegrams		Total	Telephone Calls		
	Internal	Foreign	Including Service Tel.	Local	Trunk	Total
1880	1,751,018	1,016,220	2,842,340	—	—	—
1885	1,759,054	1,151,076	3,007,556	3,580,944	—	3,580,944
1890	1,965,862	1,730,126	3,824,040	5,758,174	—	5,758,174
1901	1,515,066	2,399,928	4,078,353	26,670,381	95,903	26,766,284
1911	1,721,439	4,300,353	6,208,584	62,367,114	712,066	63,079,180
1912	1,706,507	3,155,773	6,301,089	67,471,137	1,033,350	68,504,487
1913	1,646,129	3,185,545	6,140,526	72,558,907	1,175,028	73,733,935

The total number of telephone subscribers in 1913 was 80,517. The total number of post-offices was 4077. In connection with the postal service there were 15,037 persons employed, 1257 of whom were females. For the telegraph and telephone services 6448 persons were employed. The provision of stage-coaches on the Alpine roads is a branch of the postal service, and in 1913 188,884 passengers were carried by sixteen routes. The total receipts were £31,700 as compared with £40,390 in 1912.

A project is under consideration by the Swiss Parliament for the introduction of a Post-Office Savings Bank. 662 savings banks in connection with private banks already exist, and at the end of 1908 1,899,332 depositors' books had been issued, representing 1570,964,852 francs (£62,838,594) deposited and an average of £33 per book.

RAILWAYS.—There were, at the end of 1913, 3392 miles of railway lines. Of these, 1541 miles were main routes, and 42 miles were foreign railways in Switzerland. Of the remainder 310 miles were steam-tramways, and 29 miles were funiculars. The total working expenses in 1913 were £5,475,356, and the total receipts were £10,707,054.

The following table gives some statistics for 1911 and 1912.

	Cost of Construction to the end of	No. of Passengers carried	Receipts
1911	£77,438,794	101,798,118	£8,572,788
1912	81,042,392	105,575,536	10,334,294

Five of the railways are State-owned, and the length of line is 1679 miles.

The total number of accidents in 1913 was 2115 as against 2164 in 1912. The number of people killed in 1913 was 95, and 99 in the previous year. In 1913, 1921 were injured, and in 1912, 1939.

Steamships.—In 1823 the first steam-boat service was opened on Lake Geneva. In 1911 there were fourteen companies possessing 129 boats plying on the various lakes and on the Rhine basin, and the number of passengers carried was 8,940,510 at a total profit of £49,270. In 1912 the number of boats was 150, and in 1913, 168.

Motor-car Services.—In the same way as the railway department supervises the steamship services so also it controls motor-services. At the end of 1913 concessions had been granted for nineteen different routes, as compared with fourteen in the previous year. The total length of road covered is 103 miles. The number of cars running is 42, and they contain 574 seats.

At the end of April 1913 there were, in the Republic, 4665 private motor-cars, which are permitted all over the country, except in the canton of Grisons. Swiss firms supplied 1629 of these cars; Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and America 3036. At the same date 751 motor vehicles and carriers were in use, and 4954 motor-cycles. The number of deaths from motor-traffic in the years 1901-1905 was 918, in the years 1906-1910, 978.

AGRICULTURE.—The chief products of Switzerland are wheat, cattle, milk, butter, cheese, wine and timber. The productive land, 7,911,657 acres, was in 1912 divided as follows: Meadow, pasture and arable land, 5,665,686 acres; forests, 2,176,811 acres, and vineyards, 69,160 acres. The yield and area of wheat, other cereals and wine was for three years, from 1910, as follows:

	Area			Yield		
	1910	1911	1912	1910	1911	1912
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
Wheat	104,728	104,642	104,234	1,475,893	1,887,608	1,702,196
Oats	80,522	80,631	81,510	1,239,750	1,385,371	1,147.261
Rye	60,021	59,907	60,515	806,821	913,717	852,082
Barley	12,844	12,800	12,350	169,236	194.424	183,011
Maize	3,211	3,285	3,285	47,229	60,610	53,132
Vines	59,870	58,141	58,539	5,358,815*	16,478,715*	19,866,000*

* Gallons of Wine.

It is estimated that there are in Switzerland nearly 300,000 peasant proprietors.

In 1911 the number of cattle-owners was 264,007, possessing 144,128 horses, 1,443,483 oxen and cows, 570,226 pigs, 1,661,414 sheep and 341,296 goats. In 1911, 48,488 cases of foot-and-mouth disease were notified.

Great attention is paid to sylviculture in Switzerland. The Federal Government controls all the forest police, issues hunting and shooting permits and frames regulations for the upkeep of the forests. Between the years 1872 and 1911, £445,773 were spent by the Federal Government on re-afforestation over an area of 27,090 acres. In 1913, 20,715,194 trees (15,173,302 conifera) were planted. The total area of forest-land is calculated as 21.86% of the whole area of Switzerland. Of this 95,130 acres are Federal property looked after by 196 officials. The cantons own 1,549,582 acres, and 638,715

are private property. In 1913, 2,000,175 cubic metres of timber were cut.

Pisciculture also is encouraged, the Government, in 1913, subsidizing 191 establishments, producing 97,422,880 fry; 192 establishments producing 82,104,650 fry in 1912; and 191 establishments producing 91,905,120 fry in 1911.

Switzerland possesses four salt mines, those of Bex (dating from 1630), Rheinfelden (1844), Ryburg (1848), and "Schweizerhalle" in Canton-Bâle (country) (1834). Until 1910 there existed a fifth salt mine, that of "Kaiseraugst," which was bought up for the power-works of the town of Bâle. In 1911 the total production amounted to 659,490 quintals, and the total profit obtained from the salt monopoly was £161,932, or 10d. per head of the population.

TRADE.—The following table gives the returns for the special trade of Switzerland (*i.e.*, the import of goods for consumption and the export of goods the product of the country) for the last three years.

	1911	1912	1913
	£	£	£
Imports ...	72,094,400	78,549,900	77,030,652
Exports ...	50,292,400	54,303,900	55,037,272
Total	122,386,800	132,853,800	132,067,924

These figures show a steady increase in the trade of Switzerland for the last eleven years, as the total for 1902 was £80,112,000, or £52,000,000 less than in 1913.

The principal articles of import for 1912 were: Coal, coke and patent fuel, 3,140,260 tons, valued at £3,853,100; wheat and other cereals, 905,465 tons, valued at £8,419,200; raw silk, 6296 tons, valued at £6,409,500; manufactured cotton goods

14,773 tons, valued at £3,106,000. It is worthy of note that in 1911, of the total amount of coal imported £2,871,500 worth came from Germany, while only £58,400 worth came from the United Kingdom.

The principle articles of export for 1912 were: Raw silk, 2593 tons, valued at £2,109,600; manufactured silk goods, 4859 tons, valued at £8,821,700; cotton goods, 17,259 tons, valued at £10,690,000; watches and clocks, 15,561,218 pieces, valued at £6,950,900; cheese, 29,597 tons, valued at £2,588,600; chocolate and cocoa, 15,750 tons, valued at £2,209,300 (mainly to the United Kingdom); machinery, 57,240 tons valued at £4,337,900.

The total trade between the United Kingdom and Switzerland is shown as follows for three years:

	1910	1911	1912
	£	£	£
Imports from Switz. to U.K.	9,812,000	10,035,000	10,627,000
Exports to Switz. from U.K.	3,371,000	3,934,000	4,035,000

The Customs receipts for the last four years were as follows: 1910, £3,226,411; 1911, £3,237,573; 1912, £3,479,170; 1913, £3,405,686.

All commercial travellers have to be licensed in Switzerland. In 1913, 37,115 travellers were licensed; 29,933 represented Swiss firms, while 7182 represented foreign firms.

Factories.—The number of factories in Switzerland at the beginning of 1912 was 8093, employing 328,841 workpeople. Of this number 35% were women. In 1901 there were 6080 factories with 242,534 workers, of whom 38% were women. The principal industries are silk and cotton manufactures, machinery, chemicals, timber, watchmaking, jewellery, scientific instruments, chocolate, cheese, tinned milk, brewing,

straw plaiting and manufacture of straw goods. The 328,800 people employed in these factories may be subdivided according to nationalities as follows: 255,500 Swiss; 26,100 Germans; 34,300 Italians, 5900 Austro-Hungarians and 6000 French. The manufacture of machinery gives employment to 46,435 persons, clock-making to 39,983, and silk goods to 31,537. In 1912 there were 138 breweries producing 65,943,064 gallons, as against 66,063,954 gallons in 1911. Thirty-nine firms manufactured cement, chalk and plaster of Paris to the extent of 831,573 tons, employing 3547 persons. Since 1912 night-work has been introduced into Switzerland, but the shops and factories engaging therein have to obtain an authorization from the State. In 1913 the number of licenses granted was twelve.

Labour Exchanges were first opened in Switzerland in 1911. In 1913 there were fifteen. The following table shows the work done by them.

	Situations Vacant	Applicants	Situations Filled	State Subsidy
				£
1911	79,803	88,219	52,711	1710
1912	88,035	97,322	58,336	2050
1913	84,361	99,490	54,868	2226

FINANCE.—Among the sources of revenue to the State no doubt the largest is that received from the duties levied on goods entering the country. The figures for the last four years are: 1910, 80,136 thousand francs; 1911, 79,000 thousand francs; 1912, 85,609 thousand francs, and 1913, 82,500 thousand francs. There is neither income-tax nor death-duty to be paid in Switzerland. On the other hand military service is compulsory, but exemption may be obtained by payment of a tax half of which flows into the coffers of the State, the other half into those of the cantons. In 1913 the amount obtained by levying this tax was 4,440,000 francs. The varied sources

of revenue include: tax on the granting of professional degrees, 56,000 francs; percentage of receipts of insurance companies, 107,000 francs; tax on patents, 814,000 francs, and the sale of cavalry horses, 111,500 francs. The revenue and expenditure for the last six years were:

	Revenue	Expenditure		Revenue	Expenditure
	£	£		£	£
1908	5,895,640	6,035,170	1911	3,921,764	3,931,842
1909	6,227,140	7,353,710	1912	3,710,400	3,863,200
1910	6,674,668	6,453,221	1913	3,949,000	4,126,200

For the year 1914 the estimated deficit is £264,800. Since 1887 the State has exercised a monopoly on alcohol, and in the years 1887-1911 the net profit therefrom has amounted to 152,043,455 francs (£6,081,738). The cantons have received 142,151,380 francs (£5,686,055). In 1911 the amount divided among the cantons was 6,441,767 francs (£257,668).

The budget estimates for 1914 are:

Revenue	Francs	Expenditure	Francs
Real Property... ...	2,088,098	National Debt ...	9,313,700
Capital Invested ...	4,078,232	General Administration	1,605,700
General Administration	118,700	Departments—	
Departments—		A. Political... ...	1,187,544
A. Political ...	25,000	B. Interior	16,639,540
B. Interior	139,300	C. Justice and Police	2,353,025
C. Justice and Police	1,094,000	D. Military	45,752,790
D. Military... ...	3,756,500	E. Finance and Customs ...	9,677,240
E. Finance and Customs ...	85,344,000	F. Commerce, Industry and Agriculture	16,581,971
F. Commerce, Industry and Agriculture	186,500	G. Posts and Railways	572,480
G. Posts and Railways	1,099,050	Miscellaneous ...	1,756,010
Miscellaneous... ...	10,620		
Total	98,820,000	Total	105,440,000
	£3,952,800		£4,217,600

The following table gives figures for the income and expenditure of all the cantons separately for the years 1908, 1909 and 1910.

Canton	Receipts			Expenditure		
	1908	1909	1910	1908	1909	1910
	Frcs.	Frcs.	Frcs.	Frcs.	Frcs.	Frcs.
Zurich	25,208,962	27,826,209	27,895,271	24,814,182	27,161,726	28,321,522
Berne	48,586,232	50,592,852	52,054,464	48,641,166	50,646,521	52,556,410
Lucerne	3,732,029	3,893,166	4,203,342	3,803,965	3,956,209	4,152,837
Uri	493,493	448,023	676,759	527,564	537,119	681,831
Schwyz	616,339	706,709	717,153	618,900	722,555	751,794
Obwalden ..	371,212	438,049	442,115	461,267	473,216	467,403
Nidwalden ..	276,049	272,626	277,521	261,078	291,216	304,338
Glarus	1,234,017	1,229,175	1,350,293	1,227,638	1,268,110	1,340,424
Zug	699,086	704,405	838,767	734,962	700,211	867,821
Freiburg	5,754,545	5,869,306	5,932,084	5,963,851	5,994,430	6,126,988
Soleure	3,248,521	3,795,191	3,883,447	3,257,060	3,649,821	3,893,822
Bale (town) ..	14,900,070	16,642,888	17,648,054	15,529,970	17,371,124	18,229,730
Bale (country) ..	1,627,138	1,874,770	1,890,493	1,713,497	1,873,167	1,890,232
Schaffhausen ..	3,171,101	3,137,984	3,242,869	3,022,214	3,315,005	3,350,041
Appenzell, A. Rh.	1,176,833	1,177,035	1,246,494	1,072,557	1,131,986	1,161,982
Appenzell, I. Rh.	327,307	331,307	348,115	306,951	313,289	328,124
St. Gall	10,237,063	10,783,381	11,571,493	10,424,176	11,091,914	11,878,541
Grisons	1,379,387	1,416,275	1,387,330	2,778,336	2,959,371	3,263,017
Aargovie ..	4,144,953	4,589,901	4,725,724	4,379,355	4,795,596	4,904,092
Thurgovie ..	3,006,691	3,309,299	3,169,403	3,301,267	3,331,652	3,604,308
Tessin	4,785,049	5,361,262	5,750,047	5,109,892	5,673,648	5,949,283
Vaud	13,769,452	14,612,279	15,459,232	14,559,875	14,824,189	15,252,341
Valais	2,618,180	2,606,015	2,833,668	2,544,812	2,667,075	3,020,563
Neuchatel ..	5,733,164	5,536,404	5,604,905	5,415,674	5,621,620	5,802,630
Geneva	12,560,918	10,653,223	11,730,188	10,879,928	10,814,021	11,634,046
Total	184,879,231	177,801,794	184,879,231	171,041,137	181,460,426	189,488,485

JUSTICE AND CRIME.—Each canton has its own judicial system for civil and criminal cases, and the Confederation is served by the Federal Tribunal sitting at Lausanne. This consists of twenty-four members appointed by the Federal Assembly for six years who work in three sections. The Federal Tribunal deals with cases between the Confederation and individual cantons, or between the cantons themselves, or between the canton or the Confederation and individuals or corporations when the question or dispute relates to not less

than 3000 francs (£120) in value. Moreover, the Federal Tribunal is a court of appeal from decisions of other Federal authorities.

The prison population for the last four years prior to 31st December 1911 was as follows:

	1911	1910	1909	1908
Men ...	3936	3592	3554	3342
Women ...	575	578	550	527
Total ...	4511	4170	4104	3869

ARMY.—The army of Switzerland is the national militia, in which service is compulsory and universal for every citizen physically fit. Those exempted from service pay a tax in lieu thereof. Liability to serve extends from the seventeenth to the end of the forty-eighth year, but the actual service commences with the twentieth year. Training begins in the recruit schools, and the periods vary from 65 days to 90 days according to the class of service, infantry being at the lower figure and cavalry at the higher figure.

The general and financial control of the army is in the hands of the Federal Government, though the administration of minor matters is under the authority of the various cantons, who may promote to the rank of captain. The total number of men to the end of 1913 was 214,222.

A large number of voluntary rifle clubs exist in Switzerland, all of which receive a State subsidy. In 1911 there were 3973 clubs with 237,039 members and subsidized to the extent of 552,970 francs (£22,118).

The actual amount spent for military purposes in 1912 was 45,156,951 francs (£1,806,278).

MONEY.—The Swiss currency is as follows: 1 franc = 100 centimes. The rate of exchange for 1912 was 25 francs, 35½c.

to £1. In 1913 the coins issued were of the nominal value of 2,258,000 francs. The number of coins struck was 11,700,000, and in the same year the National Bank withdrew from circulation and returned to the mint 273,600 coins, of a face value of 160,050 francs. Since 1865 Switzerland belongs to the Latin Monetary Union, a union between France, Belgium, Italy and Greece.

The number of coins in circulation at the end of 1912 was as follows: gold, 7,230,000 pieces, value, 141,600,000 francs; silver, 48,026,000 pieces, value, 57,230,000 francs; nickel, 127,000,000 pieces, value, 12,550,000 francs; and copper, 88,000,000 pieces, value, 1,175,000 francs, making a total of 270,256,000 pieces, value, 212,555,000 francs.

Diplomatic representatives.—The Confederation has Legations in Paris, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Washington, London, St Petersburg, Tokio and Buenos Aires, and a Consul-General at Madrid, Rio de Janeiro and Montreal.

The Swiss Minister in London is M. Gaston Carlin. The British Minister to Switzerland is E. Grant Duff, G.M.G.

There is a British Consul-General at Zürich and Consuls at Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, Davos and St Moritz; and Vice-Consuls at Montreux, Bâle, St Gall, Lugano and Neuchâtel.

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